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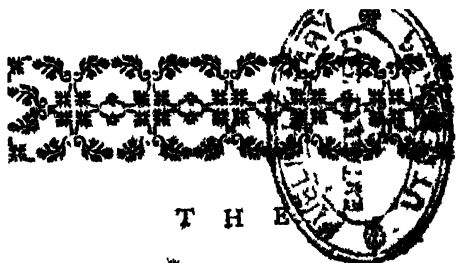
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 Statesmen, | Warriors, | Poets,  
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*Adorned with COPPER PLATES.*  
 VOL XI



*L O N D O N*  
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*Sir Isaac Newton*



# THE BRITISH PLUTARCH,



## THE LIFE OF ISAAC NEWTON

**S**IR ISAAC NEWTON was descended of an antient family, which had its origin at Newton, in Lancashire; but removing thence, was afterwards seated at Westby, in Lincolnshire; and, about the year 1730, becoming possessed of the manor of Woolstrop, in the same county, fixed its residence upon that demesne. Here this prodigy of mathematical learning was born, upon Christmas-day, in 1642.

His father dying, left him lord of that manor while he was yet a child; and a few years after, his mother engaged in a second mar-

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riage: however, being a woman of good sense, and of an antient family herself of the name of Ascough, she did not neglect to take a becoming care of her son's education; and, at twelve years of age, put him to the free-school, at Grantham, in the same county. It was her design not to breed him a scholar; therefore, after he had been at school some years, he was taken home, that (being deprived, as he was, of his father) he might betimes get an insight into his own affairs, and be able the sooner to manage them himself. But, upon trial, the youth shewed so little disposition to turn his thoughts that way, and at the same time stuck so close to his book, that his mother concluded it best to let him pursue the bent of his own inclinations. For that purpose she sent him back to Grantham; whence, at eighteen years of age, he removed to Cambridge, where he was admitted into Trinity college, in the year 1660.

The study of the mathematics had been introduced into the university in the beginning of this century. From that period, the elements of geometry and algebra became generally one branch of a tutor's lectures to his pupils; but particularly Mr. Newton, at his admission, found Mr (afterwards Dr.) Barrow, the most eminent mathematician of the time, fellow of his college. Mr. Lucas also dying shortly after, left, by his will, the appointment for founding his mathematical lecture;

ture; which was settled in 1663, and Mr. Barrow chosen the first professor.

Our author, therefore, by thus turning his thoughts to the mathematics, seems to have done no more than fall in, as well with his own particular situation, as with the general taste of that time; but then it is universally confessed, he did it with a genius that was superior to all that ever went before him in any time, Achimedes only excepted.

For a beginning, he took up Euclid's Elements, he run his eye over the book, and at sight was master of every proposition in it. This done, the youthful vigour of his understanding would not suffer him to stay and sit down, in order to contemplate the singular excellence in that author's elegant manner of demonstrating, whereby the whole series and connection of the truths advanced is continually kept in view up to their first principles.

This neglect, however, he was sensible of in his riper age; but his ingenuity in confessing an error, which otherwise no body could have surmised, and that too after he was grown equally full of years and honour, by setting out in another way, was, in him, only a slender instance of a most amiable simplicity of disposition.

It was not till the latter part of his life, that Dr. Pemberton became known to him, and then,

“ He spoke, even with regret, of this mistake at the beginning of his mathematical studies,

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studies, in applying himself to the works of DesCartes and other algebraical writers, before he had considered the Elements of Euclid with that attention which so excellent a writer deserves."

After all, if this was a fault in him, it was a fault that actually gave birth to all those vast improvements which he afterwards made in these sciences.

The truth is, when he came to the college, Des Cartes was all the vogue. That eminent mathematician and philosopher had greatly extended the bounds of algebra, in the way of expressing geometrical lines by algebraical equations, and thereby introduced a new method of treating geometry.

Our author struck into this new analytical way, and presently saw to the end of the farthest advances made by Des Cartes; but having sounded the depth of that author's understanding, without feeling the extensive power of his own, he proceeded to read those pieces of Dr. Wallis which were then printed, and particularly his *Arithmetica Infinitorum*. Here our author first found that matter which set his boundless invention to work.

In this ingenious performance, the celebrated author had carried the mensuration of curve lined figures to a pitch which had not as yet been exceeded. Amongst others, he had squared, or given the areas of a series of curves

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curves expressed in the way of Des Cartes, by algebraic equations, proceeding in a certain geometrical progression; whereby it easily appeared, as he shews, that, if, between each of these areas another could be found, so that the terms of the aggregate series, after such interpolation, should be to each other, continually in the same scale of proportion; then the first of the interpolated areas would give the quadrature of the circle. But, how to perform this interpolation, was, to him, an insuperable difficulty; here, therefore, he was forced to put a stop to his researches at this period.

In the winter, between the years 1664 and 1665, Mr. Newton took up the subject, and, tho' scarcely twenty-two years old, presently passed the bounds that nature had set to his great præcursor; and, from this beginning, by an amazing sagacity, joined to the most intense application, carried the doctrine of infinite series, in less than two years time, almost to perfection. But this could be completed only by the help of the method of fluxions, which was invented by him, in the spring of the year 1665; and took its rise from a circumstance not much unlike that which gave birth to the former.

Mr. Fermat had, about the year 1630, hit upon a way of determining the Maxima and Minima, by a method of the same kind with that of fluxions; he had likewise drawn tangents to curves, in some of the less difficult



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cases. An instance of this method is given by Andrew à Schooten, in his Commentary on Des Cartes's Geometry, printed in 1649.

Mr. Newton reading that author, in 1663, took notice of this method, and remarked, that it was confined to simple rational quantities only. Therefore, having now, by pursuing the method of interpolation, found out his famous binomial theorem, and made it general, by the happy thought of using indefinite indices, or exponents of powers; he observed, the rule for drawing tangents, which he had seen in Schooten, thereby became universal, and might be extended, by this means, to quantities involved either in fractions or surds, and with the same ease too, as to rational powers or roots.

By this means, the operations of multiplication, division, and extraction of roots, were reduced to one common way of considering them; whence the bounds of analysis were much extended, and a foundation laid for its becoming universal.

After this, he presently perceived the way of applying the same rule to find the degree of curvature in curves at any given point; and, being now sensible, that this rule, by the help of his indefinite indices, would serve for finding the proportion of indeterminate quantities of any kind, he thought of laying a foundation suitable to the large extent of it. To this end, he considered, that mathematical quantity might, very agreeably to nature, and  
even

even daily experience, be conceived as generated by local motion, either uniform or continually accelerated; and that either in one unvarying proportion, or changing in any given rule of variation.

To reduce so general a principle into a proper form for calculation, he observes, first of all, That, as hereby quantities became greater or less, according to the greater or lesser velocities of the motion with which they were generated, hence the whole business consisted in determining the proportion of these velocities. But the consideration of different degrees of velocity necessarily involved that of time, and absolutely depended upon it. Therefore he compared the motions of all other quantities with that of time; and, from the flowing of time, and the moments thereof, he gave the name of flowing quantities to all quantities which encrease in time; and that of fluxions to the velocities of their increase; and that of moments to their parts generated in moments of time.

Observing then, that time flowed uniformly, he represented it by some other quantity, which was considered as flowing uniformly (for instance, in determining the areas of curved lined figures, he represented it generally by equal parts of the abscissa, and its fluxion by an unit), and considering the moments of time, or of its exponent, as equal to one another, such moments he commonly represented by the letter  $a$  drawn into an unit.

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The other flowing quantities he represented by the ordinate, in computing the quadrature of curves, or, generally, by the final letters of the alphabet,  $x, y, z$ ; their fluxions by the same letters in a different form, or else distinguished by points over them,  $\dot{x}, \dot{y}, \dot{z}$ , &c. and their moments he expressed by their fluxions, drawn into a moment of time  $\dot{x}o$ : but did not confine his method to the use of these, or any particular symbols of fluxions.

Every thing being thus prepared, he reduced the whole inquiry to this general problem. "From a given equation, involving any number whatever of fluents, to find the fluxions, and vice versa."

This problem he immediately applied to all the subjects which the mathematicians of that time were busied in searching into; and pushing through every difficulty as it arose, he presently brought it to that perfection, especially in the quadrature of curves, the subject which first set him to work, that, in any proposed equation whatever, expressing the nature of a curve, he could tell, whether such curve were possible to be squared or no; and then, if possible, could actually give the square, either in finite terms, (that is, accurately, if that could be done) or else, by continual approximation in an infinite series; and this in less than a quarter of an hour.

In all these enquiries he knew not what it was to be repulsed, his sagacity always carrying him through every opposing difficulty ap  
to

to the end which he aimed at, rested within those limits only, which he himself thought proper to put to such kind of speculations. But he had now laid in a sufficient stock of these materials, which he knew how to enlarge too if there should be occasion for it; and he could not think of throwing away his time upon meer abstracted speculations, how entertaining soever they might be. Accordingly, he now turned his thoughts to a subject of more immediate use.

Des Cartes, in his *Dioptrics*, the best of his performances in philosophy, taking up with the commonly received opinion, that light was homogeneous; had, upon this principle, first discovered the laws of refraction, and demonstrated, that the perfecting of telescopes depended on finding out the way of making the glasses in elliptic, parabolic, or hyperbolic figures.

The best mathematical wits were now at work upon this subject; particularly Mr. (afterwards Sir Christopher) Wren had, about this time, made considerable advances towards completing this so useful an invention, as it was then thought to be.

Mr. Newton, therefore, no sooner got back to the college, than he applied himself, in the year 1666, to the grinding of optic glasses of other figures than spherical, having no distrust as yet of the homogeneous nature of light, but not hitting presently upon any thing in this attempt which succeeded to his mind, he pro-

cured a glass prism, in order to try the celebrated phenomena of colours, not long before discovered by Grimaldi.

He was much pleased at first with viewing the vivid brightness of the colours produced by this experiment; but, after a while, applying himself to consider them in a philosophical way, with that circumspection which was natural to him, he became immediately surprized to see them in an oblong form; which, according to the received rule of refractions, ought to have been circular: yet, at first, he thought the irregularity might possibly be no more than accidental; but this was a question, he could not leave without further satisfaction: he therefore presently invented an infallible method of deciding it; and this produced his *New Theory of Light and Colours*.

However, the theory alone, unexpected and surprising as the discovery was, did not satisfy him; he rather considered the proper use that might be made for improving telescopes: which was his first design.

To this end, having now discovered light not to be homogeneous, but an heterogeneous mixture of differently refrangible rays, he computed the errors arising from this different refrangibility, and finding them to exceed some hundreds of times those occasioned by the circular figure of the glasses, he laid aside his glass works, and took reflections into consideration.

He

He now understood, that optical instruments might be brought to any degree of perfection imaginable, provided a reflecting substance could be found, which would polish as finely as glass, and reflect as much light as glass transmits, and the art of giving it a parabolic figure be also obtained. But these seemed to him very great difficulties; nay, he almost thought them insuperable, when he farther considered, that every irregularity in a reflecting superficies, makes the rays stray five or six times more from their due course, than the like irregularities in a refracting one.

Amidst these thoughts, he was forced from Cambridge by the plague; and it was more than two years before he made any farther progress therein. However, he was far from passing away the hours in a negligence of thought in the country; on the contrary, it was here, at this time, that he first started the hint that gave rise to the system of the world; which is the main subject of his *Principia*.

The consideration of accelerated motion in the method of fluxions above-mentioned, which he was still improving, unavoidably led his thoughts to the subject of gravity, the effect of which is an instance of that motion in nature. And now, as he sat in a garden alone in the country, he very naturally fell into some reflections on the power of this principle; That, as this power is not found sensibly diminished at the remotest distance from the centre of the earth to which we can rise, neither

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at the tops of the loftiest buildings, nor on the summits of the highest mountains, it appeared to him reasonable to conclude, that this power must extend much farther than was usually thought. Why not as high as the moon? said he to himself; and, if so, her motion must be influenced by it; perhaps she is retained in her orbit thereby: however, tho' the power of gravity is not sensibly weakened in the little change of distance at which we can place ourselves from the centre of the earth; yet it is very possible, that, as high as the moon, this power may differ much in strength from what it is here.

To make an estimate what might be the degree of this diminution, he considered with himself, that, if the moon be retained in her orbit by the force of gravity, no doubt the primary planets are carried round the sun by the like power; and, by comparing the periods of the several planets with their distances from the sun, he found, that, if any power like gravity held them in their courses, its strength must decrease in the duplicate proportion of the increase of distance.

This he concluded, by supposing them to move in perfect circles concentrical to the sun, from which the orbits of the greatest part of them do not much differ. Supposing therefore the power of gravity, when extended to the moon to decrease in the same manner, he computed whether that force would be sufficient to keep the moon in her orbit.

In

In this computation, being absent from books, he took the common estimate, in use among geographers and our seamen before Norwood had measured the earth, that sixty English miles complete one degree of latitudes; but, as this is a very faulty supposition, each degree containing about sixty-nine English miles and an half, his computation upon it did not make the power of gravity, decreasing in a duplicate proportion to the distance, answerable to the power which retained the moon in her orbit; whence he concluded that some other cause must at least join with the action of the power of gravity on the moon. For this reason, he laid aside, for that time, any farther thoughts upon the matter.

An easiness so resigned, as to give up a favourite opinion, founded upon the best astronomical observations of the whole planetary system, is an illustrious proof of a temper exactly fitted for philosophical enquiries.

Mr. Voltaire relates it, as an anecdote of particular use in the history of the human mind; as it shews, at once, both how great an exactness is necessary in these sciences, and likewise how disinterested Mr. Newton was in his search after truth.

It is indeed a little surprising, that he should not then be acquainted with Mr. Norwood's Mensuration, which was made in 1635; and seems to be more so still, that he did not inform himself; when he returned to Cambridge, which



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which he did shortly after ; and, in the following year, 1667, was chosen fellow of his college, and took the degree of master of arts the same year, having proceeded bachelor of arts three years before. But at this time he apparently thought it not possible, that the old reckoning could be so grossly wide of the truth as it really is ; and he was remarkably clear of that vanity, which in other eminent inventors is useful, in making them forward to push the exercise of their inventive faculty. In reality, his thoughts were now engaged upon his newly-projected telescope by reflection ; which, being a very useful invention, he was most desirous to complete : and, in 1668, having considered what Mr. James Gregory proposed in his *Optica Promota*, concerning such a telescope, with a hole in the midst of the object metal to transmit the light to an eye-glass placed behind it, he thought the disadvantages would be so great, that he resolved, before he put any thing into practice, to alter Mr. Gregory's design, and place the eye-glass at the side of the tube, rather than in the middle ; he then made a small instrument, with an object-metal spherically concave ; but this was only a rude essay, the chief defect lay in wanting a good polish for the metal. This therefore he set himself to find out, when Dr. Barrow resigning the mathematical chair at Cambridge to him, on the eighth of November, in the year 1669, the business of that professorship interrupted

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rupted his attention to the telescope for a while.

In the mean time, an unexpected occasion drew from our author a discovery of the vast improvements he had made in geometry by the help of his new analysis.

Lord viscount Brouncker, the year before, had published a quadrature of the hyperbola in an infinite series; which, by the help of Dr. Wallis's division, was soon after demonstrated by Mr. Nicholas Mercator, in his *Logarithmotechnica*, in 1668.

This being the first appearance of a series of this sort, drawn from the particular nature of the curve expressed in an abstracted algebraical equation, and that in a manner very new, the book presently came into the hands of Dr. Barrow, then at Trinity-college; who having, upon another occasion, been informed some time before by Mr. Newton, that he had a general method of drawing tangents, communicated this invention of Mercator's to that fellow collegian: upon sight of which, our author brought him those papers of his own, that contained his *Analysis per æquationes numero terminorum infinitas*.

The doctor perusing it, stood amazed at the prodigious performance, and immediately acquainted his friend Mr. Collins with it; at whose request he afterwards obtained leave of Mr. Newton to send him the papers. Mr. Collins taking a copy before he returned the treasure,

treasure, thence got the means of dispersing other transcripts to all the most eminent of his mathematical acquaintance. But, notwithstanding this, it was not till many years afterwards, that the full extent to which our author had carried the invention came to be well understood.

Mr. Fontenelle observes, that it was natural to expect, that Mr. Newton, upon seeing Mercator's book, would have been forward to open his treasure, and thereby secure to himself the glory of being the first discoverer. But this was not his way of thinking; on the contrary, we know, from his own words, that he thought Mercator had entirely discovered his secret; or that others would, before he was of a proper age for writing to the public. The empty name of barely doing what no body else could do, he looked upon as a child's bauble; his views were much higher, and more noble; he thought to build his fame upon a more substantial foundation.

These speculative inventions, therefore, however ingenious, were kept by him, as necessary tools and implements in his researches into the works of nature; there he knew they would be of use to him, and he knew too how to use them there to advantage; and in these views only it was, that he set any particular value upon them. Nay, he was now actually making this use of them, in discovering the properties and unravelling the subtle actions of light.

As

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As his thoughts had been for some time chiefly employed upon optics, he made his discoveries in that science the subject of his lectures, for the three first years after he was appointed mathematical professor.

He had not finished these lectures, when he was chosen fellow of the royal society, in January, 1671-2; and, having now brought his Theory of Light and Colours to a great degree of Perfection, he communicated it to that society, first to have their judgment upon it, and it was afterwards published in their Transactions of February nineteen, 1672.

The reason of this conduct is fully declared, in the following letter of his to Mr. Oldenburg.

Trinity-college. Feb, 10, 1671-2.

“ S I R,

“ I T was an esteem of the royal society for most candid and able judges in philosophical matters, encouraged me to present them with that Discourse of Light and Colours, which since they have so favourably accepted of, I do earnestly desire you to return them my cordial thanks. I before thought it a great favour to be made a member of that honourable body; but I am now more sensible of the advantage. For, believe me, Sir, I do not only esteem it a duty to concur with them in the promotion of real knowledge, but a great priviledge, that, in-  
stead

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stead of exposing discourses to a prejudiced and censorious multitude (by which means many truths have been baffled and lost) I, may with freedom apply myself to so judicious and impartial an assembly.

As to the printing of that letter, I am satisfied with their judgment, or else I should have thought it too strait and narrow for public view. I designed it only to those who know how to improve upon hints of things; and therefore to shun tediousness, omitted many such remarks and experiments as might be collected by considering the assigned laws of refractions; some of which, I believe, with the generality of men, would yet be almost as taking as any I described. But yet, since the royal society have thought it fit to appear publicly, I leave it to their pleasure: and, perhaps, to supply the aforesaid defects, I may send you some more of the experiments to second it, if it be so thought fit, in the ensuing Transactions.

I have no more but to offer my acknowledgments of your kindnesses in particular, and my thanks for the pains you are pleased to undertake in printing that letter,

“ S I R,

“ I am

“ Your faithful servant,

“ I. NEWTON.

But, notwithstanding all this precaution which was taken in preparing it for public view, yet it was so absolutely new and unsuspected, and totally subversive of all mens settled opinions in this matter; such a nice degree of accuracy and exactness was necessary in making the experiments upon which it was founded; and the reasoning also upon those experiments was so very subtle and penetrating, that it no sooner went abroad into the world, than it found opposers in all quarters where ever it appeared.

Our author was thus unexpectedly drawn into various disputes about it; which being, for the most part, occasioned, either by too much hastiness in trying his experiments, or else by reasoning wrong upon them, were very grievous to him.

He had spent eight years in repeating the experiments which ascertained the truth of the fact, and now thought to oblige the world, by disclosing one of the most hidden secrets of nature; and there was room to expect the benefaction would be received with all imaginable gratitude: but, steeped as they were in error, the discovery seems to have been construed into a reproach of their ignorance; and they suffered for it.

By this specimen, the great inventor clearly saw what would be the consequence of giving the rest of his Theory, where he knew there must appear so many yet more amazingly severe truths.

For

For this reason, he laid up his optical lectures, after he had prepared them for the press with a design to publish them; and, as he had referred, for the demonstrations of some things therein, to his *Analyfis per æquationes numero terminorum infinitas*; his intention was, the lectures should be accompanied with it: for which purpose he had enlarged and revised it, and cast it into a better form. He had likewise illustrated it with a great variety of examples, and set the whole method of fluxions entirely in a new light. However, he had not completed his whole design, before the decree against publication was passed; for he had thought of adding the manner of resolving such problems as could not be reduced to quadratures, which he never completed.

In this conduct, our author evidently acted against his own fame; but that motive had little weight with him, when thrown in the balance against the sweet enjoyment of an unruffled serenity of thought; a blessing which he valued above all the glory that mathematics or philosophy could heap upon him.

In the account which he gave himself, some years after, of these proceedings, he says,

“ I blamed my own imprudence, for parting with so substantial a blessing as my quiet, to run after a shadow.”

Yet these disputes, vexatious as they were, did not hinder him from going on to finish his reflecting-telescope, the most immediately useful part of his optics; and, observing that there was no absolute necessity for the parabolic figure of the glasses, since, if metals could be ground truly spherical, they would bear as great apertures as men would be able to give a polish to, he completed another instrument of this kind; which answering the purpose so well, as, though it was only six inches long, yet he had seen with it Jupiter distinctly round, as also his four satellites, and Venus horned, he sent it to the royal society at their request, together with a description of it; which was afterwards published in the Philosophical Transactions for the twenty eighth of March, 1672, Number eighty-one.

There are likewise, in the two immediately subsequent numbers, several further observations and particulars relating to this new invention, communicated by him in the view of seconding the design of the society, to recommend it to some skilful artists, for further improvement, with respect to the two particulars which were still wanting, a proper composition of metal, and a good polish.

The same year, 1672, he published, at Cambridge, in 8vo, *Bernardi Varenii Geographia Generalis, in qua Affectiones Generales Telluris explicantur aucta & illustrata ab If. Newton.*

About



About this time, he had likewise some thoughts of publishing Kinckhuysen's Algebra, but afterwards dropped that design.\*

In 1675, Mr. Hooke laying claim to some of his inventions in his New Theory of Light and Colours, he asserted his right thereunto with a becoming spirit; and, the following year, at the request of Mr. Leibnitz, he wrote two letters, to be communicated to him, wherein he explained his invention of infinite series, and took notice how far he had improved it by his method of fluxions; which, however, he still concealed, by a transposition of the letters into an alphabetical order, that made up the two fundamental problems of it. This was done, that he might be at liberty to alter his method in some things, in case any body else should find it out.

In the winter between 1676 and 1677, he found the grand proposition, that, by a centripetal force reciprocally as the square of the distance, a planet must revolve in an ellipsis about the centre of force placed in the lower focus of the ellipsis, and with a radius drawn to that centre describe areas proportionable to the time.

In 1680, he made several astronomical observations upon the comet that then appeared; which, for some considerable time, he took not to be one and the same, but two different comets, against the suspicion of Mr. Flamsteed.

However,

However, the consequences of the theory of centripetal and centrifugal forces being the subject of much enquiry about this time, he received a letter from Mr. Hooke, explaining what must be the line described by a falling body, supposed to be moved circularly by the diurnal motion of the earth, and perpendicularly by the power of gravity; wherein he shewed, that it would not be a spiral line, but an eccentric elliptoid, supposing no resistance in the medium; but, in case of resistance, it would be an eccentric ellipti-spiral, which, after many revolutions, would rest in the centre at last; and that the fall of the body would not be directly east, but to the south-east, and more to the south than the east.

This letter put Mr. Newton upon enquiring what was the real figure in which such a body moved; and this enquiry gave occasion to his resuming his former thoughts concerning the moon: and Picart having, not long before, viz. in 1679, measured a degree of the earth, by using his measures, the moon appeared to be retained in her orbit purely by the power of gravity; and, consequently, that this power decreases in the duplicate proportion of the distance, as he had formerly conjectured.

Upon this principle, he found the line described by a falling body to be an ellipsis, the centre of the earth being one focus; and finding by this means, that the primary planets really moved in such orbits as Kepler had guessed, he had the satisfaction to see, that this enquiry, which

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which he had undertaken at first out of meer curiosity, could be applied to the greatest purposes. Hereupon he drew up near a dozen propositions, relating to the motion of the primary planets about the sun; which were communicated to the royal society in the latter end of the year 1683.

The best mathematical wits were engaged upon this subject; and, among others, Mr. Halley, in 1683-4, having proved the duplicate proportion in general from Kepler's sesquialterate ratio, found himself, as well as the rest, not able to carry the demonstration through all the particulars.

Thus baffled, he applied, first, to Sir Christopher Wren and Mr. Hook; but meeting with no satisfaction from them, restless as he was to push, if possible, this pursuit, as well as all others, in which he heartily engaged, to a degree of perfection, he took a journey in August to Cambridge, in order to consult Mr. Newton.

Our author presently informed him, that he had absolutely completed the much desired demonstration; and Mr. Halley receiving it from him in November, made him a second visit at Cambridge; where he got his consent, with some difficulty, to have it entered in the register-books of the royal society. After which, by Mr. Halley's importunity, and the request of that society, our author was prevailed with to finish the work.

The third book, being only a corollary of some propositions in the first, was then drawn up by him in the popular way, with a design to publish it in that form with the other two : but the manuscript being presented with a dedication to the royal society, in April, 1686, Mr. Hooke, very injuriously, insisted upon his having demonstrated Kepler's problem before our author ; whereupon, rather than be involved again in controversy, he determined to suppress the third book, till his friends prevailed upon him to alter that resolution. However, he was now convinced, that it would be best not to let it go abroad without strict demonstration.

The book was put to the press by the society soon after Midsummer, 1686, under the care of Mr. Halley, then assistant-secretary ; and it came out about Midsummer, 1687, under the title of *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*.

From hence it appears, that this treatise, full of such a variety of profound inventions, was composed from scarce any other materials than the few propositions before-mentioned, in the space of eighteen months.

The second edition, with great additions and improvements by the author, was printed in 1713, 4to, under the direction of Mr. Roger Cotes, professor of astronomy and experimental philosophy in that university ; who prefixed a preface, giving an account of the philosophy contained in the book, especially with

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regard to the famed vortices of Des Cartes ; which, though irrefragably refuted herein, still had their abettors.

The last edition, with still further improvements by the author, was published at London, in 4to, under the care of Henry Pemberton, M. D.

This book, in which our author had built a new system of natural philosophy, upon the most sublime geometry, did not meet at first with all the applause it deserved, and was one day to receive. Two reasons concurred in producing this effect : Des Cartes had then got full possession of the world ; his philosophy, was, indeed, the creature of a fine imagination, gaily dressed in a tempting metaphorical stile ; he had given her, likewise, some of nature's true features, and painted the rest to a seeming 'of nature's likeness, with a smiling countenance ; besides, whatever she said was easily understood ; and thus she yielded herself up, without any great difficulty, to her votaries. Upon these accounts, people in general even took unkindly an attempt to awake them out of so pleasing a dream.

On the other hand, Mr. Newton had, with an unparalleled penetration, pursued nature up to her most secret abodes, and was intent to demonstrate her residence to others, rather than anxious to point out the way by which he arrived at it himself. He finished his piece in that elegant conciseness, which had justly gained the antients an universal esteem. Indeed,

deed, the consequences flow with such rapidity from the principles, that the reader is often left to supply a long chain to connect them; therefore it required some time before the world could understand it; the best mathematicians were obliged to study it with care before they could be masters of it; and those of a lower class durst not venture upon it, till encouraged by the testimonies of the most learned: but, at last, when its worth came to be sufficiently known, the approbation which had been so slowly gained, became universal; and nothing was to be heard from all quarters but one general shout of admiration.

“ Does Mr. Newton eat, or drink, or sleep, like other men?” says the marquis l’Hôpital, one of the greatest mathematicians of the age, to the English who visited him; “ I represent him to myself as a celestial genius, entirely disengaged from matter.”

The general subject of the Principia is the doctrine of motion, which is the most considerable of all others for establishing the first principles of philosophy by geometrical demonstration. The undertaking was begun by Des Cartes; but, taking up with gross experiments, without examination, he derived his conclusions too hastily. Mr. Newton both saw the mistake, and, at the same time, how extremely difficult it would be to avoid it; but he had the resolution to make the attempt,

and he alone had strength to complete the execution.

To this end, by experiments made with the most accurate exactness, and observed with the nicest circumspection and sagacity, he first discovers what are the real phænomena of motion arising from the natural powers of gravity, elasticity, the resistance of fluids, and the like ; whence he rises, by the help of his own sublime geometry, to investigate the true forces of these powers of nature ; and then, from those forces, demonstrates the other phænomena : \* particularly, in settling the system of the heavens, he demonstrates mathematically, in the first book, what are the genuine effects of central forces, in all hypotheses whatsoever that can be framed concerning the laws of attraction ; then, from Kepler's rules, and other astronomical and geographical observations, he shews, what the particular laws of attraction are in nature ; and proves, that this attraction is every where the same as the terrestrial gravity ; by the force of which, all bodies tend to the sun, and to the several planets.

Then, from other demonstrations, which are also mathematical, he deduces the motion of the planets, the comets, the moon, and the sea.

In the height of all these profound, philosophical researches, just before his *Principia* went to the press, the privileges of the university being attacked by king James II, our author

thor appeared among the most hearty defenders; and was, accordingly, one of the delegates to the high commission court; where the steady defence they made was so unexpected by the court, that the king thought proper to drop the affair.

After this, he was chosen one of the university representatives in the convention parliament in 1688, where he attended till its dissolution.

Mr. Montague, afterwards earl of Halifax, sat likewise, for the first time, in that parliament; and, being bred at the same college, was well acquainted with our author's abilities; and undertaking the great work of recoinage the money when he became chancellor of the Exchequer, he obtained of the king, for Mr. Newton, in 1696, the office of warden of the Mint.

This post put him in a capacity of doing signal service in that affair, which was of so great importance to the nation: and, three years after, he was promoted to be master of the Mint: a place, *communibus annis*, worth twelve or fifteen hundred pounds a year; which he held till his death.

Upon this promotion, he appointed Mr. William Whiston, then master of arts at Clare-hall, his deputy in the mathematical professorship at Cambridge; giving him the full profits of the place: and, not long after, procured him to be his successor in that post.



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The royal academy of sciences at Paris, having, this year, made a new regulation for admitting foreigners into their society, Mr. Newton was immediately elected a member of that academy.

In 1703, he was chosen president of the royal society; in which chair he sat for twenty-five years, without interruption, till the day of his death.

In 1704, he published, at London, in 4to, his *Optics: or, a Treatise of the Reflections, Refractions, Inflections, and Colours of Light*. He had now at times employed thirty years in bringing the experiments to that degree of certainty and exactness, which alone could satisfy himself. In reality, this seems to have been his most favourite invention.

In the speculations of infinite series and fluxions, as also in his demonstrations of the power of gravity in preserving the system of the world, there had been some, tho' distant, hints given by others before him; whereas, in the dissecting a ray of light into its first constituent particles, which then admitted of no farther separation; in the discovery of the different refrangibility of these particles thus separated; and that these constituent rays had each its own peculiar colour inherent in it; that rays falling in the same angle of incidence have alternate fits of reflection and refraction; that bodies are rendered transparent by the minuteness of their pores, and become opaque by

by having them large ; and, that the most transparent body, by having a great thinness, will become less peryious to the light : in all these, which made up his New Theory of Light and Colours, he was absolutely and entirely the first starter ; and, as the subject is of the most subtle and delicate nature, he thought it necessary to be himself the last finisher of it.

The art of making experiments to a certain degree of accuracy is far from being a common attainment. The most trifling fact that falls under our notice, is complicated with so many others which compose or modify it, that it requires the utmost sagacity even to guess at the particular ingredients of such a composition, and the nicest dexterity to distinguish them from each other. The facts to be examined must be resolved into others, which are themselves compounded ; and sometimes, if we happen to mistake our way, we are led into endless and inextricable labyrinths. The truth is, the affair that chiefly employed his researches for so many years, was far from being confined to the subject of light alone : on the contrary, all that we know of natural bodies seemed to be comprehended in it ; he had found out, that there was a mutual action at a distance between light and other bodies ; by which both the reflections and refractions, as well as inflections, of the former were constantly produced.

To ascertain the force and extent of this principle of action, was what had all along

engaged his thoughts ; and what, after all, by its extreme subtilty, escaped even his most penetrating spirit. However, though he has not made so full a discovery of this principle, which directs the course of light, as he has in relation to the power by which the planets are kept in their courses ; yet he gave the best directions possible for such as might be inclined to carry on the work ; and furnished matter abundantly enough to animate them to the pursuit. He has, indeed, hereby opened a way of passing from optics to an entire system of physics ; and, if we look upon his queries, as containing the history of a great man's first thoughts, even in that view they must be entertaining and curious.

He was very anxious that his true meaning in them should be rightly understood ; which was, to furnish sufficient motives for making farther enquiries ; but, in the mean time, not to determine any thing : and, when Dr. Friend published his Lectures in Chymistry, a few years after, in explaining the phenomena of chymical experiments, assumed the attraction for a principle, which in the queries was only started as a conjecture, our author complained of it as an injury done to him. Upon the same account it was, that in the advertisement prefixed to the Optics, he expressed a desire that his book might not be translated into Latin without his consent ; and, when Dr. Clarke, who, to prevent others, immediately undertook it, with his approbation, presented  
the

the manuscript to him, finding herein his sense accurately expressed in elegant language; he was so much pleased with it, that he gave him 500 l. or 100 l. for each of his children.

Dr. Clarke's translation was printed at London, in 1706, 4to, and our author printing a second edition of this book, with improvements, there, in 1718, 8vo, the second edition of Dr. Clarke's translation was likewise published in 1719, 4to. Mr. Peter Coste translated it into French from the second edition.

The first edition of the Optics was accompanied with his Quadrature of Curves by his new analysis; to which he subjoined, An Enumeration of the Lines of the Third Order: both contained under the following title, *Tractatus duo de Speciebus & Magnitudine Figurarum Curvilinearum*. This was the first appearance in print of his Method of Fluxions. It was apparently done upon the plan of his original intention in 1671, as has been mentioned. He declined to publish it then on account of a controversy, and it unluckily proved the occasion of drawing him into another now.

In 1705, queen Anne, in consideration of his extraordinary merit, conferred the honour of knighthood upon him.

In 1707, Mr. Whiston, by our author's permission, published his *Algebraical Lectures* under this title: *Arithmetica Universalis, five de Compositione & Resolutione Arithmeticae Liber*; and it was put into English by Mr. Ralphson from this edition.

Sir Isaac printed a second edition, with improvements, under the care of Mr. Machin, professor of astronomy at Gresham-college, and secretary to the royal-society.

This work was another specimen of the vast depth of our author's genius. Dr. Pemberton tells us, that he called this treatise by the name of Universal Arithmetic, in opposition to the injudicious title of Geometry, which Des Cartes had given to the treatise; wherein he shews how the geometer may assist his invention by such kind of computations.

Mr. s'Gravesande observes, that the ablest mathematicians of the last age did not disdain to write notes on the Geometry of Des Cartes; "and surely," continues he, "Sir Isaac Newton's Arithmetic no less deserves that honour: and, to excite some skilful hands to undertake that work, as well as to shew the necessity of it, he gave a specimen in the explication of two passages, which, however, are not the most difficult in that book. Accordingly, Mr. Maclaurin dying in the year 1745, left a treatise which was designed for a commentary upon it.

In 1711, our author's *Analysis per Quantitatum Series, Fluxiones & Differentias cum Enumeratione Linearum Tertii Ordinis*, was published at London, in 4to, by William Jones, esq. F. R. S. who met with a copy of the first of these pieces among the papers of Mr. John Collins, to whom, as already mentioned

tioned, it had been communicated by Dr. Barrow in 1659. But the invention of approximating per differentias, or the method of drawing a geometrical curve of the parabolic kind through any number of points, though found out by our author long before, and reckoned by himself to be one of his rarest discoveries, yet had not been communicated by him till this time.

The publication of this book was occasioned by the dispute about the invention of the method of fluxions, which likewise gave birth to the following work, that was undertaken by the consent of Sir Isaac, and printed the next year at London, in 4to, containing a collection of several letters by Sir Isaac and others, in relation to that controversy, under this title: *Commercium Epistolicum D. Johannis Collins & aliorum, de Analyfi promotâ, jussu Societatis Regiæ in lucem editam.*

In 1714, Mr Humphrey Ditton and Mr. William Whiston, having proposed and published, a new method of discovering the longitude at sea by signals, it was laid before the house of commons to procure their encouragement: upon which a committee was appointed to take the matter into consideration; who, sending to Sir Isaac Newton for his opinion, he immediately drew up the following paper, which was delivered to the committee on the second of June.

“ For determining the Longitude at sea there have been several projects, true in theory but difficult to execute.

“ I. One is by a watch to keep time exactly, but, by reason of the motion of a ship, the variation of heat and cold, wet or dry; and the difference of gravity in different latitudes, such a watch hath not yet been made.

“ II. Another is by the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites; but, by reason of the length of telescopes necessary to observe them, and the motion of a ship at sea, those eclipses cannot yet be there observed.

“ III. A third is, by the place of the moon; but her theory is not yet exact enough for that purpose; it is exact enough to determine the longitude within two or three degrees, but not within a degree.

“ IV. A fourth is Mr. Ditton's project; and this is rather for keeping an account of the Longitude at sea, than for finding it if at any time it should be lost, as it may easily be in cloudy weather. How far this is practicable, and with what charge, they that are skilled in sea-affairs are best able to judge. In sailing by this method, when ever they are to pass over very deep seas, they must sail due east or west; they must first sail into the latitude of the next place to which they are going beyond it, and then keep due east or west till they come at that place.

“ In

“In the three first ways there must be a watch regulated by a spring, and rectified every visible sun rise and sun-set, to tell the hour of the day or night. In the fourth way, such a watch is not necessary. In the first way there must be two watches, this and the other above-mentioned. In any of the three first ways it may be of service to find the Longitude within a degree, and of much more service to find it within forty minutes, or half a degree if it may; and the success may deserve rewards accordingly. . .

“In the fourth way, it is easier to enable seamen to know their distance and bearing from the shore, forty, sixty, or eighty miles off, than to cross the seas; and some part of the reward may be given, when the first is performed on the coast of Great-Britain, for the safety of ships coming home; and the rest when seamen shall be enabled to sail to an assigned remote harbour without losing their Longitude, if it may be.”

Upon this opinion the house of commons threw aside the petition.

In 1715, Mr. Leibnitz intending to bring the world more easily into a belief, that Sir Isaac had taken the method of fluxions from his differential method; thought to foil his mathematical skill by the famous problem of the trajectories, which he therefore proposed to the English by way of challenge. But the solution of this, though it was the most difficult



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cult proposition his antagonist could think of, after a great deal of study, and, indeed, might pass for a considerable performance in another, yet was it hardly any more than an amusement to Sir Isaac. He received the problem at four o'clock in the evening, as he was returning from the Mint; and, though he was extremely fatigued with business, yet he finished the solution of it before he went to bed.

As Mr. Leibnitz was privy counsellor of justice to the elector of Hanover, when that prince was raised to the British throne, Sir Isaac came to be taken particular notice of at court; and it was for the immediate satisfaction of king George I. that he was prevailed with to put the last hand to the disputes about the invention of fluxions.

In this court, the princess of Wales, afterwards queen-consort to his late majesty, king George II. happened to have a curiosity, which led her particularly to look into philosophical enquiries. No sooner, therefore, was she informed of our author's firmness to the house of Hanover, than she engaged his conversation, which presently endeared him to her. Here she found, in every difficulty, that full satisfaction which she had in vain sought for elsewhere; and her highness was often heard to declare in public, that she thought herself happy in coming into the world at a juncture of time which put it in her power to converse with him.

Amongst

Amongst other things, Sir Isaac one day acquainted her highness with his thoughts upon some points of chronology, and communicated to her what he had formerly wrote purely for his own amusement upon that subject. But the plan appeared to be so unexpectedly new and ingenious, that she could not be satisfied till he promised her to compleat a work she found so happily begun.

Not long after, about the year 1718, the princess begged she might have a copy of these papers. Sir Isaac represented to her highness that they lay very confused; and, besides, what he had written therein was imperfect; but, in a few days, he could draw up an abstract thereof, if it might be kept secret. Some time after he had done this and presented it, she desired that signior Conti, a Venetian nobleman, then in England, might have a copy of it. This was a request which could not be denied, especially as the condition of secrecy was readily promised.

Notwithstanding this promise, the abbé, who, during his stay in England, had always affected to shew a particular friendship for Sir Isaac, no sooner got cross the water into France but he dispersed copies of it; got an antiquary to translate it into French; and, moreover, to write a confutation of it. This was printed at Paris in 1725; after which, a copy of the translation only, without the remarks, under this title, *Abregé de Chronologie de M. le*  
Chevalier

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Chevalier Newton, fait par lui même & traduit sur le manuscrit Anglois, was delivered, as a present, from the bookseller that printed it to our author, in order to obtain his consent to the publication; which, though expressly denied by him, yet the whole was published not long after in the same year.

Upon this, Sir Isaac published, in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 386, vol. xxxiv. p. 315, Remarks upon the Observations made upon a Chronological Index of Sir Isaac Newton, translated into French by the observator, and published at Paris.

Some few years before this, in the eightieth year of his age, our author was seized with an incontinence of urine, thought to proceed from the stone in the bladder, and judged to be incurable: however, by the help of a strict regimen, and other precautions, which till then he never had occasion for, he procured great intervals of ease during the five remaining years of his life; yet he was not free from some severe paroxysms, which even occasioned large drops of sweat to run down his face.

In these circumstances, he never was seen to utter the least complaint, nor express the least impatience; and, as soon as he had a moment's ease, he would smile and talk with his usual cheerfulness. Till this time he had always read and writ several hours in a day, but he was now obliged to rely upon Mr. Conduit for the discharge of his office in the Mint.

On

On Saturday morning, March 18, 1726-7, he read the news-papers, and discoursed a long time with Dr. Mead, his physician, having then the perfect use of all his senses and his understanding; but that night he entirely lost them all; and not recovering them after, he died on the Monday following, which was the twentieth of March, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

His body lay in state in the Jerusalem-chamber; and, on the twenty-eighth of March, was conveyed into Westminster-abbey, the lord chancellor, the dukes of Montrose and Roxburgh, and the earls of Pembroke, Suffex, and Macclesfield holding up the pall. The corpse was interred just at the entrance into the choir, on the left hand, where a rich monument is erected to his memory, with a suitable inscription upon it, which well deserves a place here, and is as follows:

*H. S. E.*

Isaacus Newton, Eques Auratus,  
 Qui animi vi prope divina  
 Planetarum motus, figuras,  
 Cometarum semitas, Oceanique Æstus,  
 Sua mathesi faciem præferente,  
 Primus demonstravit.  
 Radiorum lucis dissimilitudines,  
 Colorumque inde nascentium proprietates,  
 Quas nemo antea vel suspicatus erat, prevestiga-  
 vit.

Naturæ

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Naturæ, Antiquitatis, S. Scripturæ,  
Sedulus, sagax, fidus interpres,  
Dei Opt. Max majestatem philosophia afferuit,  
Evangelii simplicitatem moribus expressit.

Sibi gratulentur mortales, tale tantumque existi-  
tisse

### HUMANI GÈNERIS DECUS.

Natus xxv. Decemb. MDCXLII. Obiit. xx.  
March, MDCCXXVI.

As to his person, he was of a middling stature, and somewhat inclined to be fat in the latter part of his life. His countenance was pleasing and venerable at the same time, especially when he took off his peruke, and shewed his white hair, which was pretty thick.\* He lost but one tooth, and never made use of spectacles during his whole life; which, perhaps, might be the ground for Mr. Fontenelle's saying, in a kind of panegyric, that he had a very lively and piercing eye. For bishop Atterbury, who seems to have observed it more critically, assures us, that,

“ This did not belong to him, at least not for twenty years past, about which time,” says the bishop, “ I became acquainted with him. Indeed, in the whole air of his face and make, there was nothing of that penetrating sagacity which appears in his compositions; he had something rather languid in his look and manner,

her, which did not raise any great expectation in those who did not know him."

In viewing the character of his genius, we must turn to the nature of his inventions, and the manner in which he opened his way to them. Of these we have given an account at the several stages of his life when the discoveries were made by him. The mark that seems most of all to distinguish it is this, That he himself was the truest judge, and made the justest estimation of it.

One day, when one of his friends had said some handsome things of his extraordinary talents, Sir Isaac, in an easy and unaffected way assured him, that, for his own part, he was sensible, that, whatever he had done worth notice, was owing to a patience of thought, rather than any extraordinary sagacity which he was endowed with above other men. "I keep the subject constantly before, and wait till the first dawnings open slowly, by little and little, into a full and clear light." And hence we are able to give a very natural account of that unusual kind of horror which he had for all disputes upon these points; a steady, unbroken attention was his peculiar felicity; he knew it, and he knew the value of it.

In such a situation of mind, controversy must needs be looked upon as his bane. However, he was at a great distance from being steeped in philosophy: on the contrary, he  
could

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could lay aside his thoughts, though engaged in the most intricate researches, when his other affairs required his attendance; and, as soon as he had leisure, resume the subject at the point where he left off. This he seems to have done, not so much by any extraordinary strength of memory, as by the force of his inventive faculty, to which every thing opened itself again with ease, if nothing intervened to ruffle him.

The readiness of his invention made him not think of putting his memory much to the trial; but this was the offspring of a vigorous intenseness of thought, out of which he was but a common man. He spent, therefore, the prime of his age in these abstruse researches, when his situation in a college gave him leisure, and even while study was his proper profession: but, as soon as he was removed to the Mint, he applied himself chiefly to the business of that office; and so far quitted mathematics and philosophy, as not to engage in any new pursuits of either kind afterwards.

Dr. Pemberton tells us, that he found Sir Isaac had read fewer of the modern mathematicians than one could have expected; but his own prodigious invention readily supplied him with what he might have occasion for in any subject he undertook. He often censured the handling geometrical subjects by algebraic calculations; and frequently praised Slusius, Barrow, and Huygens, for not being influenced by the bad taste which then began to prevail.

He

He used to commend the laudable attempt of Hugo de Omerique, to restore the antient analysis, and very much esteemed Apollonius's book *De Sectione Rationis*, for giving us a clearer notion of that analysis than we had before. He particularly recommended Huygens's stile and manner, as being, he thought, the most elegant of any mathematical writer of modern times, and the most just imitator of the antients; of whose taste and form of demonstration Sir Isaac always professed himself a great admirer.

Dr. Pemberton likewise observes, that his memory, indeed, was much decayed in the last years of his life; yet the common discourse, that he did not then understand his own works, was entirely groundless. This opinion might perhaps arise from his not being always ready to speak on these subjects when it might be expected he should. But this the doctor imputes to an absence commonly seen in great geniuses.

“Inventors,” says he, “seem to treasure up in their minds what they have found out, after another manner than those do the same things who have not this inventive faculty. The former, when they have occasion to produce their knowledge, are obliged, in some measure, immediately to investigate part of what they want; for this, as they are not equally fit at all times, so it has often happened, that such as retain things chiefly by means of a  
very



very strong memory, have appeared off hand more expert than even the discoverers themselves."

Add to this, what, in regard to strict truth, must not be suppressed, that the behaviour of Mr. Leibnitz particularly, as well as of the Abbé Conti, not to mention some others, had given that caution which was innate to him such a reserve, as seemed to border upon the suspicious. However, this reserve, no doubt, was at some of these times the genuine effect of his native modesty ; which, in passing to contemplate the character of his mind, appears to stand foremost in his composition, and was, in truth, greater than can easily be imagined, or will be readily believed ; yet it always continued so, without any alteration, tho' the whole world, says Mr. de Fontenelle, conspired against it.

In his dispute with Mr. Leibnitz, he even shewed a great meekness of disposition ; however, he was very far from being insensible, both of the injurious presumption and mean chicanery of his envious competitor ; and undoubtedly took the best method of foiling him, by refusing to feed his vanity with a verbal contest, but subduing his insolence with inflexible facts.

When he was twenty-seven years of age, he wrote a letter to a young gentleman who was entering upon his travels ; where, in giving rules for his friend's conduct, he has in some measure

measure described his own. This young gentleman was Francis Aston, esq. and the letter he sent him was as follows.

“ Trinity-college, Cambridge,  
May 18, 1669.

“ S I R

“ SINCE in your letter you give me so much liberty of sending my judgment about what may be to your advantage in travelling, I shall do it more freely than perhaps otherwise would have been decent. First, then, I will lay down some general rules; most of which, I believe, you have considered already; but, if any of them be new to you, they may excuse the rest; if none at all, yet is my punishment more in writing than yours in reading.

“ When you come into any fresh company,

“ I. Observe their humours.

“ II. Secondly, suit your own carriage thereto; by which insinuation you will make their converse more free and open.

“ III Let your discourse be more in queries and doubtings, than peremptory assertions or disputings; it being much the design of travellers to learn, not to teach. Besides, it will persuade your acquaintance that you have the greater esteem of them, and so make them more ready to communicate what they know to you; whereas, nothing sooner occasions dis-

disrespect and quarrels than peremptoriness. You will find little or no advantage in seeming wiser, or much more ignorant, than your company.

“ IV. Seldom discommend any thing, though never so bad ; or doe it but moderately, least you bee unexpectedly forced to an unhandsom retraction. It is safer to commend any thing more than it deserves, than to discommend a thing so much as it deserves : for commendations meet not soe often with oppositions, or at least are not usually so ill refented by men that think otherwise, as discommendations, and you will insinuate into mens favour by nothing sooner than seeming to approve and commend what they like ; but beware of doing it by a comparison.

“ V. If you bee affronted, it is better, in a forraine country, to pass it by in silence, and with a jest, tho’ with some dishonour, than to endeavour revenge ; for, in the first case, your credit’s ne’er the worse, when you return into England, or come into other company, that have not heard of the quarrell. But, in the second case, you may beare the marks of the quarrell while you live, if you outlive it at all. But, if you find yourself unavoidably engaged, ’tis best, I think, if you can command your passion and language, to keep them pretty evenly, at some certain moderate pitch, not much hightning them to exasperate your adversary, or provoke his friends, nor letting them grow over much dejected, to  
make

make him inselt. In a word, if you can keep reason above passion, that and watchfulnesse will bee your best defendants. To which purpose you may consider, that, tho' such excuses as this, 'He provokt mee soe much, I could not forbear,' may pass among friends, yet amongst strangers they are insignificant, and only argue a traveller's weaknesse.

" To these I may add some general heads for inquiry or observations, such as at present I can think on. As,

" I. To observe the policys, wealth, and state-affairs of nations, so far as a solitary traveller may conveniently doe.

" II. Their impositions upon all sorts of people, trade, or commoditys, that are remarkable.

" III. Their laws and customs, how far they differ from ours.

" IV. Their trades and arts, wherein they excell, or come short of us in England.

" V. Such fortifications as you meet with; their fashion, strength, and advantage, or defence; and other such military affairs as are considerable.

" VI. The power and respect belonging to their degrees of nobility, or magistracy.

" VII. It will not be time missept to make a catalogue of the names and excellencies of those men that are most wise, learned, or esteemed in any nation.

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“ VIII. Observe the mechanisme and manner of guiding ships.

“ Observe the products of nature in several places, especially in mines, with the circumstances of mining, and of extracting metals, or minerals, out of their oare, and of refining them ; and, if you meet with any transmutations out of their own species into another (as out of iron into copper, out of any metall into quicksilver, out of one salt into another, or into an insipid body, &c.) those, above all, will be worth your noting, being the most luciferous, and many times luciferous experiments too in philosophy.

“ X. The prices of diet and other things. And,

“ XI. The staple commodity of places.

“ These generals, such at present as I could think of, if they will serve for nothing else, yet they may assist you in drawing up a modell to regulate your travells by. As for particulars, these that follow are all that I now can think of : viz.

“ I. Whether, at Semnitium, in Hungary, (where there are mines of gold, copper, iron, vitriol, antimony, &c.) they change iron into copper by dissolving it in a vitriolate water, which they find in cavities of rocks in the mines, and then melting the slimy solution in a strong fire, which in the cooling proves copper. The like is said to be done in other

other places, which I cannot now remember; perhaps too it may be done in Italy; for, about twenty or thirty years ago, there was a certain vitrioll came from thence, called Roman vitrioll, but of a nobler virtue than that which is now called by that name; which vitrioll is not now to be gotten, because, perhaps, they make a greater gain by some such trick as turning iron into copper with it, than by selling it.

" II. Whether, in Hungary, Sclavonia, Bohemia, near the town of Flia, or at the mountains of Bohemia, near Silesia, there bee rivers whose waters are impregnated with gold; perhaps, the gold being dissolved by some corrosive waters, like aqua regis, and the solution carried along with the streame that runs through the mines. And, Whether the practise of laying mercury in the rivers till it be tinged with gold, and then straining the mercury through leather that the gold may stay behind, be a secret yet, or openly practised,

" III. There is newly contrived in Holland, a mill to grind glasses plane withall, and I think polishing them too; perhaps it will be worth while to see it.

" IV. There is in Holland, one --- Barry, who some years since was imprisoned by the pope, in order to have extorted from him secrets, as I am told, of great worth, both as to medicine and profit; but he escaped into Holland, where they usually granted him a guard. I think he usually goes cloathed in

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green. Pray inquire what you can of him, and whether his ingenuity be any profit to the Dutch. You may inform yourself, whether the Dutch have any tricks to keep their ships from being all worm-eaten in their voyages to the Indies. Whether pendulum clocks do any service in finding out the longitude, &c.

“ I am weary, and I shall not stay to part with a long compliment, only I wish you a good journey, and God be with you.

“ If. Newton.

“ Pray let us hear from you in your travells, I have given your two books to Dr. Arrowsmith.”

He never talked either of himself or others, nor ever behaved in such a manner, as to give the most malicious censurers the least occasion even to suspect him of vanity. He was candid and affable, and always put himself upon a level with his company. He never thought either his merit or reputation sufficient to excuse him from any of the common offices of social life. No singularities, either natural or affected, distinguished him from other men.

Though he was firmly attached to the church of England, he was averse to the persecution of the nonconformists. He judged of men by their manners; and the true schismatics,

mathematics, in his opinion, were the vicious and the wicked. Not that he confined his principles to natural religion, for he was thoroughly persuaded of the truth of revelation; and, amidst the great variety of books which he had constantly before him, that which he studied with the greatest application was the Bible.

He did not neglect the opportunities of doing good, which the revenues of his patrimony, and a profitable employment, improved by a prudent oeconomy, put into his power. When decency upon any occasion required expence and shew, he was magnificent without grudging it, and with a very good grace. At other times, that pomp, which seems great to low minds only, was utterly retrenched, and the expence reserved for better uses.

He never married, and, perhaps, he never had leisure to think of it. Being immersed in profound studies during the prime of his age, and afterwards engaged in an employment of great importance, and even quite taken up with the company which his merit drew to him, he was not sensible of any vacancy in life, nor of the want of a companion at home. He left two and thirty thousand pounds at his death, but made no will; which Mr. Fontenelle tells us was, because he thought a legacy was no gift.

After Sir Isaac's death, there were found among his papers several discourses upon the



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subjects of Antiquity, History, Divinity, Chymistry, and Mathematics. — Some of these have been published — Besides those already mentioned, in 1727, there appeared a table of the assays of foreign coins, drawn up by him, and published at the end of Dr. Arbuthnot's book on that subject. And the next year came abroad his *Chronology*, under this title: *The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms amended: to which is prefixed a Short Chronicle, from the first Memory of Things in Europe, to the Conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great.* By Sir Isaac Newton. Dedicated to the Queen by Mr. Conduit.

In the Advertisement to this work, we are told, That,

“ Though the *Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms amended* was writ by the author many years since, yet he lately revised it, and was actually preparing it for the press at the time of his death. But the *Short Chronicle* was never intended to be made public, and therefore was not so lately corrected by him. To this the reader must impute it, if he shall find any places where the *Short Chronicle* does not accurately agree with the dates assigned in the larger piece.

“ The sixth chapter was not copied out with the other five, which makes it doubtful whether he intended to print it; but being found among his papers, and evidently appearing

ing to be a continuation of the same work, and as such abridged in the *Short Chronicle*, it was thought proper to be added."

2 Sir Isaac, speaking of this work, in 1725, says, when he lived at Cambridge, he used sometimes to refresh his memory with History and Chronology for a while, when he was weary of other studies. Nevertheless, there is displayed in this work, the same creative genius, if we may be allowed the expression, which informed his other researches. Accustomed to unravel chaos, he has thrown light into the dark and fabulous ages of antiquity, and fixed an uncertain chronology; shewing himself herein no less a master in calculating the comparative degrees of moral evidence, than he was in applying the absolute force of mathematical demonstration. The chain of his argument is unavoidably sometimes so long, that even tolerable good capacities, in attempting to follow it, have, by dropping some of the links, lost the connection, and thence erroneously concluded him mistaken.

In the piece, as we have it unfinished, there are, perhaps, a very few small errors of little consequence, which, however, probably would not have escaped his last revival. But he employed his care upon the principal part; and his two main arguments, from astronomy, and the course of nature, will always remain unshaken monuments of his supreme abilities among the best judges. All sorts of readers

must find a very agreeable entertainment from his account of the heathen mythology, of the origin and progress of the arts and sciences, and a variety of curious observations of several kinds, which he has interspersed throughout the whole work. The generous and good-natured mind, in particular, must needs be pleased to find him losing no opportunity of instilling those principles of virtue and humanity, which, by his conduct and writings, appear to have been always uppermost in his heart.

He severely condemns all kind of oppression and every kind of cruelty even to brute beasts; he inculcates mercy, charity, and the indispensable duty of doing good, with the greatest warmth; and shews, that an abhorrence of idolatry and persecution was one of the earliest laws of the divine legislator; that in these things consisted the morality of the first ages, the primitive religion both of Jews and Christians; and that these ought to be the standing religion of all nations, they being both for the honour of God and the good of society.

This treatise must likewise be of considerable use to the divine, as it sets the connexion of sacred and prophane history in a new and clearer light than before, and furnishes him with many illustrations of several texts of scripture not to be found in the most celebrated commentators.

After this, there came out his *Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse*

lype of St. John. London, 1733, quarto. Though this appears to be a very unfinished piece, yet there are seen some strokes in it which discover the hand of its great master. Among other things, he has shewn the exact duration of our Saviour's ministry upon earth, by a strict demonstration:—A difficulty which had mocked the efforts of the best wits before him.

In 1734, Dr. Berkley, bishop of Cloyne, in Ireland, in a piece intitled *The Analyst*, attacked his method of Fluxions, as being obscure and unintelligible; since the doctrine of moments, upon which it was founded, necessarily involved a notion of infinity, whereof we can form no comprehensible or adequate idea; and therefore ought to be excluded from all geometrical disquisitions. This gave rise to a controversy, which occasioned the publication of our author's *Method of Fluxions and Analysis by Infinite Series*:

The treatise being written in Latin was translated into English, and printed in 1736, 4to. with a perpetual commentary by Mr. John Colson, since professor of mathematics at Cambridge; wherein, among other things, he inserted *A Defence of the Method against the Objections of Dr. Berkley*. The task, indeed, was not difficult; Sir Isaac was too clear-sighted not to perceive such objections, and accordingly had fully obviated them before, (viz. in schol. to sect. 1. of his *Principia*, and lemma 2. B. 1.) so much to the satisfaction

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of every intelligent and unprejudiced reader, that the great dust which had been raised about the whole of his doctrine, must be owing, as has been observed, either to weakness or some worse principle.

In 1737, there was printed an English translation of A Latin Dissertation upon the Sacred Cubit of the Jews; written by Sir Isaac. It was found subjoined to a work of his not finished, intituled Lexicon Propheticum.

Lastly, in 1756, there was published, in 8vo, Four Letters from Sir Isaac Newton to Dr. Bentley; containing some Arguments in Proof of a Deity. These letters were wrote in the year 1692,

Dr. Bentley had been appointed to preach the first course of sermons of Mr. Boyle's lecture; and being intent to make the best figure he could on that occasion, he applied to our author for the solution of a difficulty which he had met with, in an argument urged by Lucretius, to prove the eternity of the world from an hypothesis of deriving the frame of it, by mechanical principles, from matter endued with an innate principle of gravity evenly spread through the heavens.

The hypothesis being inconsistent with Sir Isaac's system of the world, as laid down and demonstrated in the Principia, had been very little considered by him in this application. However, he easily satisfied all the doctor's queries upon the subject with great clearness; and it may be observed, that, as Dr.  
Bentley

Bentley established his fame by these sermons at Boyle's lecture, so that happiness was entirely owing to the assistance, public and private, which he received from Sir Isaac Newton.



THE LIFE OF  
 GEORGE BYNG.

**G**EORGE BYNG, afterwards lord-viſcount Torrington, was deſcended from an antient family in the county of Kent. He was born in the year 1663, and, at the age of fifteen, went a volunteer into the royal navy, in the ſervice of Charles II. having had the king's letter given him at the recommendation of the duke of York.

In 1681, upon the invitation of general Kirk, governor of Tangier, he quitted the ſea, and ſerved as a cadet in the grenadiers of that garrison, till, on a vacancy, which quickly happened, the general, who was always his warm patron, made him an enſign in his own company, and ſoon after a lieutenant.

In 1686, after the demolition of Tangier, the earl of Dartmouth, general of the ſea and land forces, appointed him lieutenant of the Orford; from which time he kept conſtantly to the ſea ſervice; but did not throw up his commiſſion as an officer for ſeveral years after.



*Aveline*

*Byng Lord Torrington!*





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In the year 1685, he went lieutenant of his majesty's (James II.) ship *Phoenix* to the East Indies; where engaging and boarding a Zigeonian pirate, who maintained a desperate fight, most of those who entered with him were slain, himself dangerously wounded, and the pirate sinking, he was taken up with scarce any remains of life.

In the year 1688, being first lieutenant to Sir John Aylly, in the fleet commanded by the earl of Dartmouth, and fitted out to oppose the designs of the prince of Orange, he was in a particular manner entrusted and employed in the intrigue then carrying on among the most considerable officers of the fleet, in favour of that prince; and was the person entrusted by them to carry the secret assurances of obedience to his majesty; to whom he was privately introduced at Sherbourn, by admiral Russel, afterwards earl of Oxford. At his return to the fleet, the earl of Dartmouth sent him with captain Aylmer and captain Hastings, to carry a message of submission to the prince at Windsor, who made him captain of the *Constant Warwick*, a fourth rate man of war.

In 1690, he commanded the *Hope*, a third rate; and was second to Sir George Rooke, in the battle off Beachy.

In the years 1691, and 1692, he was captain of the *Royal Oak*, and served under admiral Russel, commander in chief of the fleet. Nor were his merits concealed from that great officer,

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officer, for he distinguished him in a very remarkable manner, by promoting him to the rank of his first captain.

In 1702, a war breaking out, he accepted the command of the Nassau; and was at the taking and burning the fleet at Vigo.

In the year 1703, he was made rear-admiral of the red by queen Anne; and served in the Mediterranean fleet commanded by Sir Cloudesly Shovel; who detached him with a squadron of five men of war to Algiers, where he renewed the peace with that government. In his return home, he was in great danger of being lost in the great storm which overtook him in the channel.

In 1704, he served in the grand fleet sent into the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir Cloudesly Shovel, in search of the French fleet; and it was he who commanded the squadron that attacked and cannonaded Gibraltar; and, by landing the seamen, whose valour was on this occasion remarkably distinguished, the place capitulated the third day. He was in the battle off Malaga, which followed soon after; and, for his behaviour in that action, her majesty conferred on him the order of knighthood.

Towards the latter end of this year, the French having two strong squadrons in the Soundings, besides great numbers of privateers, which greatly annoyed our trade, Sir George Byng sailed the latter end of January from Plymouth, with a squadron of twelve  
men

## G E O R G E B Y N G. 76

men of war, and a large fleet of merchantmen; and, after seeing the latter safely out of the Channel, he divided his squadron to such advantage, that he took twelve of their largest privateers, in about two months, together with the *Thetis*, a French man of war of forty guns, and seven merchant ships, most of them richly laden from the West-Indies. This remarkable success gave such a blow to the French privateers, that they rarely ventured into the Channel during the remainder of the year.

In the year 1705, he was made vice-admiral of the blue; and, upon the election of a new parliament, was returned one of the burgessees for Plymouth; which place he constantly after represented in parliament till he was created a peer.

In the beginning of the year 1797, Sir George was ordered with a squadron to Alicante, with necessaries for the army in Spain; and accordingly sailed on the twentieth of March: but, on his arrival off Cape St. Vincent, he heard the melancholy news of the defeat of our army at the battle of Almanza, under the command of the earl of Galway, who sent to the admiral to acquaint him with the distress he was in; and desired, that whatever he had brought for the use of the army might be carried to Tortosa in Catalonia; to which place his lordship intended to retreat; and, that, if possible, he would save the sick and wounded men at Denia, Gandia, and Valencia;

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cia; where it was intended to embark every thing that could be got together.

This the admiral performed; and, having sent the sick and wounded to Tortosa, and being soon after joined by Sir Cloudesly Shovel, from Lisbon, proceeded together to the coast of Italy, with a fleet of forty-three men of war, and fifty transports, to second prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy, in the siege of Toulon; in which Sir George served in the second post under Sir Cloudesly, and narrowly escaped shipwreck in his return home, when that great officer was lost; for the Royal Anne, in which Sir George carried his flag, was within a ship's length of the rocks on which Sir Cloudesly struck; yet was providentially saved by his own and his officer's presence of mind, who, in a minute's time set the ship's topsails, even when one of the rocks was under her main chains.

In the year 1701, he was made admiral of the blue, and commanded the squadron fitted out to oppose the invasion intended to be made in Scotland by the pretender, and a French army from Dunkirk. This squadron consisted of twenty-four men of war, with which Sir George, and lord Dursley, sailed from the Downs for the French coast, on the twenty-seventh of February; and, having anchored in Gravelin-pits, Sir George went on board a small frigate, and sailed within two miles of the Flemish Road, and there learned the number and strength of the enemy's ships.

On

On the admiral's anchoring before Gravelin, the French laid aside their embarkation; but, upon express orders from their court, were obliged to resume it; and, on the sixth of March, actually sailed out of the port of Dunkirk; but, being taken short by contrary winds, came to anchor on the eighth, and then continued their voyage.

Sir George had been obliged, at the time the French fleet sailed, to come to an anchor under Dungeness; and, in his return to Dunkirk, was informed that the French fleet was sailed, but whither could not be known; tho' he was persuaded they were designed for Scotland; whereupon it was resolved, in a council of war, to pursue the enemy to the road of Edinburgh; and, accordingly, having first detached rear-admiral Barker, with a small squadron to convoy the troops to Ostend, the admiral prosecuted his expedition with the rest of the fleet.

On the thirtieth of March, the French were discovered in the Firth of Edinburgh; where they made signals, but to no purpose, and then steered a north-east course, as if they had intended to have gone to St. Andrews. Sir George pursued them, and took the Salisbury, an English prize, then in their service, with several persons of great quality on board; many land and sea officers in the French service of very great distinction; five companies of the regiment of Bern, and all the ship's company, consisting of three hundred men.

After

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After this, Sir George finding it impossible to come up with the enemy, returned to Leith, where he continued, till advice was received of the French being returned to Dunkirk.

Before the admiral left Leith Road, the lord-provost and magistrates of Edinburgh, to shew their grateful sense of the important service he had done them, by thus drawing off the French before they had time to land their forces; and thereby preserving, not only the city of Edinburgh, but even the whole kingdom, from the fatal effects of a rebellion and invasion, resolved to present him with the freedom of their city, by sending, in their name, Sir Patrick Johnson, their late representative in parliament, with an instrument called a burghs-ticket, inclosed in a gold box, having the arms of the city on the side, and these words engraven on the cover :

“ The lord-provost, bailiffs, and town-council of Edinburgh, did present these letters to burgeoise Sir George Byng, admiral of the blue, in gratitude to him for delivering this island from a foreign invasion, and defeating the designs of the French fleet at the mouth of the Firth of Edinburgh, the 13th of March, 1708.”

¶ One would have imagined, that this remarkable success must have satisfied every body; and, that, after defeating so extraordinary

nary a scheme, as this was then allowed to be, and restoring public credit, as it were, in an instant, there should be an universal tribute of applause paid to the admiral by all ranks and degrees of people: but so far was this from being the case, that Sir George Byng had scarce set his foot in London, that it was whispered, that the parliament would enquire into his conduct; which notion had its rise from a very foolish persuasion, that, having once had sight of the enemy's fleet, he might, if he pleased, have taken every ship of them, as well as the Salisbury.

The truth was, that the French, having aroused the Jacobites in Scotland with a proposal of besieging Edinburgh-castle, Sir George Byng was particularly instructed, by all means, to prevent that undertaking, by hindering the French from landing in the neighbourhood. This he effectually did, and, by doing it, answered the purpose of his expedition.

But the same malicious people, who first propagated this story, invented also another; namely, that Sir George was also hindered from taking the French fleet by his ships being foul; which actually produced an enquiry in the house of commons; and an address to the queen, to direct, that an account might be laid before them of the number of ships that went on the expedition with Sir George Byng; and when the ships were cleaned: which at last, however, ended in this resolution:

“ That



“ That the thanks of the house be given to the prince, for his great care in so expeditiously setting forth so great a number of ships ; whereby the fleet under Sir George Byng was enabled so happily to prevent the intended invasion.”

This was a very wise and well concerted measure, since it fully satisfied the world of the falsity of those reports, and at the same time gave great satisfaction to the queen and her royal consort the prince of Denmark, who both conceived that his royal highness's character was affected, as lord-high-admiral.

About the middle of the summer, a resolution was taken to make a descent on, or, at least to alarm, the coast of France, by way of retaliation for the affront so lately offered us, and Sir George Byng, as admiral ; and lord Dursley, as vice-admiral of the blue ; were appointed to carry the scheme into execution.

\* Accordingly, Sir George sailed from Spithead on the twenty-seventh of July, with the fleet and transports, having the troops on board, intended for a descent, commanded by lieutenant-general Earle ; and the next day came to an anchor off Deal. The twenty-ninth they stood over to the coast of Picardy, as well to alarm as to amuse the enemy, and at the same time to be ready for further orders. The first of August the fleet sailed again,  
and

and anchored the nex day in the bay of Boulogne, where they made a feint of landing their troops. On the third they stood in, pretty near the shore, to observe the condition of the enemy: and on the fourth they weighed again, but came to an anchor about noon in the bay of Estaples. Here a detachment of troops were landed; but the project on shore, which this descent was to have seconded, being laid aside, an exprefs arrived from England; on which the troops were re-embarked.

In this manner they continued several days on the coast of France, creating the enemy inexpressible trouble; and indeed the true design of it was only to disturb the naval armaments on their coasts, and oblige the French court to march large bodies of men to protect their maritime towns; which necessarily occasioned a diminution of their army in Flanders.

The same year, Sir George had the honour of conducting the queen of Portugal to Lisbon; where a commission was sent him, appointing him admiral of the white; and her Portuguese majesty presented him with her picture set with diamonds to a very great value.

In the year 1709, he was commander in chief of the fleet stationed in the Mediterranean; during which he attempted the relief of the city and castle of Alicant; and at the same time meditated a design upon Cadiz: nor was it his fault that both did not succeed; for he did every thing that could be expected from

from him, in order to render these important designs successful.

After his return from this expedition, in 1710, he was appointed one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral ; in which post he continued till some time before the queen's death ; when, not falling in with the measures of these times, he was removed ; but, on the accession of George I. he was restored to that employment ; and, in the year 1715, on the breaking out of the rebellion, appointed to command a squadron in the Downs ; with which he kept such a watchful eye on the French coast, and seized such a great quantity of arms and ammunition shipped there for the pretender's service, that his majesty, to reward his services, created him a baronet, presented him with a ring of great value, and gave him other marks of his royal favour.

In the year 1717, he was sent with a squadron into the Baltic, on discovering that Charles XII. had formed a design of making a descent upon England ; the particulars of which we think unnecessary to be here mentioned.

We are now to enter upon the most remarkable scene of action our admiral was ever concerned in, and which he conducted with equal honour and reputation to himself and the British flag. This was the famous expedition of the British fleet to Sicily in the year 1718, for  
the

the protection of the neutrality of Italy, and the defence of the emperor's possessions against the invasion of the Spaniards, who had the year before surprized Sardinia, and had this year landed an army in Sicily.

He sailed from Spithead about the middle of June, 1718, with twenty ships of the line of battle, two fire-ships, two bomb-vessels, an hospital-ship, and a store-ship. This Squadron arrived, on the first of August, in the bay of Naples, into which the fleet standing with a gentle gale, drawn up in a line of battle, most of them capital ships, and three of them carrying flags, afforded such a spectacle as had never been seen in those parts before. The whole city was in a tumult of joy and exultation; the shore was crowded with multitudes of spectators, and such an infinite number of boats came off, some with provisions and refreshments, others out of curiosity and admiration, that the bay was covered with them.

The viceroy, count Daun, being ill with the gout, and having sent his compliments to the admiral, he went on shore, attended by the flag-officers and captains in their boats; and was saluted at his landing by all the cannon round the city and castles; and was conducted to the court through an infinite throng of people, with the greatest acclamations of joy, and all the honours and ceremonies usually paid to a viceroy of that kingdom.

Here the admiral entered into a conference with count Daun; from whom he learned, that

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that the Spanish army, consisting of thirty thousand men, commanded by the marquis de Lede, had landed on the second of July in Sicily, and had soon made themselves masters of the city and castles of Palermo, and of great part of the island; that they had taken the town of Messina, and were carrying on the siege of the citadel, &c.

After the conference, the admiral was splendidly entertained at dinner, and then lodged at the palace of the duke de Matalona, which had been magnificently fitted up for his reception.

The next morning they had another conference, on the measures to be taken in that conjuncture of affairs; when it was agreed, that the viceroy should send two thousand German foot, in tertans, to Messina, to relieve the citadel and fort St. Salvador, under the protection of the English fleet; which accordingly sailed on the sixth of August from Naples, and arrived on the ninth in sight of the Porto of Messina.

Here the admiral, desirous of trying every method of negotiation, before he proceeded to the extremity of his orders, dispatched his first captain with orders to Messina, with a letter to the marquis de Lede; wherein, after acquainting him upon what account he was sent there, he proposed a cessation of arms for two months, that their respective courts might have time to conclude such resolutions as might restore a lasting peace; but added, that, if he was not  
so

so happy as to succeed in this offer of his service, he should then be obliged to use all his force, to prevent farther attempts to disturb the dominions his master stood engaged to defend.

The general returned for answer, That he had no powers to treat; and, consequently, could not agree to a suspension of arms, but must follow his orders, which directed him to seize upon Sicily for his master the king of Spain.

According to the best accounts the admiral could receive, he was led to conceive, that the Spanish fleet was sailed from Malta, in order to avoid him; and therefore, upon receiving the marquis's answer, he immediately weighed, with an intention to come with his squadron before Messina, in order to encourage and support the garrison in the citadel; but, as he stood about the point of the Faro of Messina, he saw two Spanish scouts in the Faro; and being informed at the same time, by a felucca, which came from the Calabrian shore, that they saw from the hills the Spanish fleet lying by; the admiral altered his design, and, sending away the German troops to Reggio, under the convoy of two men of war, he stood through the Faro with his squadron with all the sail he could, after their scouts, imagining they would lead him to their's; which accordingly they did; for, before noon, he had a fair view of their whole fleet lying by, and

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drawn into a line of battle ; which the admiral followed, and soon after came up with.

The consequence was, that he engaged and entirely ruined them, while captain Watfon did the same by the other part of the fleet, which stood in for the Sicilian shore.

In 1719, Sir George, as soon as the whole fleet was joined, dispatched his eldest son to England ; who arriving at Hampton court in fifteen days, brought thither the agreeable confirmation of what public fame had before reported ; namely, the entire defeat of the Spanish fleet ; and upon which the king had written a letter to the admiral with his own hand.

In the mean time, the admiral prosecuted his affairs with great diligence ; procured the emperor's troops free access into the fortresses that were still held out in Sicily ; brought their Sicilian galleys from Malta ; and soon after received a letter from the emperor, written with his own hand, accompanied with a picture of his imperial majesty, set round with large diamonds, as a mark of the services which had been rendered by his excellency to the house of Austria.

Early in the spring, the admiral returned to Naples ; where he adjusted every thing with the viceroy and the German general for the reduction of Sicily ; in which he acted with such zeal and success, that the Imperial army was transported into the island, and so well supplied  
with

with all necessaries from the fleet, that it may be truly said, the success of that expedition was as much owing to the English admiral as the German general; and, that the English fleet did not less service than the Imperial army.

It was entirely owing to the admiral's advice, and to his assistance and supplies of cannon, powder, and ball, from his own ships, that the Germans retook the city of Messina, in the summer of the year 1719; after which the admiral landed a body of English grenadiers, who soon made themselves masters of the tower of Faro; by which having opened a free passage for their ships, he came to an anchor in Paradise-road. This was a step of great consequence; for the officers of the Spanish men of war, which were in the mole, perceiving this, began to despair of getting out to sea, and unbent their sails, unrigged their ships, and resolved to wait their fate with that of the citadel. This gave the admiral great satisfaction, who now found himself at liberty to employ his ships in other service, which had for a long while been employed in blocking up that port.

But, while things were in this prosperous situation, a dispute arose among the allies about the disposition of the Spanish ships, when, after the citadel was taken, they should fall of course into their hands. This dispute was happily ended by the admiral's proposing



to erect a battery, and destroy them, as they lay in the basin; which was done accordingly, and thereby the ruin of Spain completed.

The admiral, in order to succeed in the reduction of Sicily, and, at the same time, to procure artillery for carrying on the siege of the citadel of Messina, went over to Naples in August; and finding that the government was unable to furnish the military stores that were wanting, he generously granted the cannon out of the British prizes; and procured, upon his own credit, and at his own risque, powder and other ammunition from Genoa; and soon after went thither himself, in order to hasten the embarkation of the troops intended for Sicily; which was made sooner than could have been expected, merely by his incredible labour and diligence, and in spite of the delays affected by the count (afterwards bashaw) Bonneval, who was appointed to command them.

Our admiral was received with great honour and respect at Genoa. At his arrival, the town saluted his flag with twenty-one guns, and his person with ten guns and twenty chambers; and the republic sent off six deputies, three of the old and three of the new nobility, to compliment him upon his arrival.

After a stay of about three weeks, he sailed with all the transports to Sicily, and arrived before Messina on the eighth of October; which so elevated the spirits of the army, then besieging the citadel, that, upon the first sight  
of

of the fleet, they made a vigorous attack upon a half-moon, and carried it. The admiral, repairing ashore to the general's quarters, was embraced by him, and all the general officers, with the most tender marks of affection and gratulation, the whole army being overjoyed to see a man who brought them relief and success, and every good that attended them.

In ten days after the admiral's arrival at Messina, the citadel surrendered to the Germans : after which Sir George reembarked a great part of the army, and landed them upon another part of the island ; by which means they distressed the enemy to such a degree, that the marquis de Lede, commander of the Spanish forces, proposed to evacuate the island ; which the Germans were very desirous of agreeing to, and sent to Vienna for instructions : but the admiral protested against it, and declared, that the Spanish troops should never be permitted to quit Sicily and return home, till a general peace was concluded ; and sent his eldest son to Vienna with instructions, if the Imperial court listened to the proposal of the Spanish general, to declare, that his father could never suffer any part of the Spanish army to depart out of the island, till the king of Spain had acceded to the quadruple alliance, or till he received positive instructions from England for that purpose. In this, Sir George certainly acted as became a British admiral ; who, after having done so many ser-

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vices for the Imperialists; might surely insist on their doing what was just in respect to us, and holding the Spanish troops in the uneasy situation they now were, till they gave ample satisfaction to the court of London, as well as to that of Vienna.

After this, the Spanish general laid a snare to separate the admiral from the Germans, by proposing an agreement with him for a separate cessation of hostilities, but without effect. But soon after, when the Germans, with the assistance of the admiral, had begun the siege of Palermo, before which the Spaniards lay encamped; and just as the two armies were upon the point of engaging, a courier arrived in that lucky instant from Spain, with full powers for the Spanish general to treat and agree about the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia, in consequence of the king of Spain's acceding to the quadruple alliance: upon which, the two armies were drawn off; a suspension of arms agreed on; the Germans put into possession of Palermo; and the Spaniards embarked for Barcelona.

The admiral, after he had settled all affairs in Sicily, sailed in August, 1720, to Cagliari, in Sardinia; where he assisted at the conferences of the ministers and generals of the several powers concerned; wherein was regulated the manner of surrendering the island by the Spanish viceroy to the emperor, and the cession of the same to the duke of Savoy; and, at the

the instance of this prince, the admiral did not depart, till he had seen the whole fully executed; the Spanish troops landed in Spain; and the duke of Savoy put into quiet possession of his new kingdom of Sardinia, in exchange for Sicily, according to the quadruple alliance: in all which affairs the admiral arbitrated so equally between them, that even the king of Spain expressed his entire satisfaction in his conduct to the British court: and his behaviour was so acceptable to the duke of Savoy, that his sincere acknowledgments to him were accompanied with his picture set in diamonds.

Thus ended the war of Sicily, wherein the British fleet bore so illustrious a part, that the fate of the island was wholly governed by its operations; both agreeing, that the one could not have conquered, nor the other have been subdued, without it. Never was any service conducted, in all its parts, with greater zeal, activity, and judgment; nor was ever the British flag in so high reputation and respect in those distant parts of Europe.

His majesty, king George I. who had named the admiral for that expedition, used to say to his ministers, when they applied for instructions to be sent him for his direction on certain important occasions, That he would send him none, for he knew how to act without any; and, indeed, all the measures that he took abroad were so exact and just, as so

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square with the councils and plan of policy at home.

Thus have we given an account of this famous expedition; and, by a bare recital of facts, without further enquiries, shewn how well Sir George Byng executed his instructions; for in this consists the merit of an admiral, and for which alone he is answerable, and not at all for the rectitude of these instructions. If this be not granted, we must never expect to be well served at sea; since the admiral, who takes upon him to interpret his instructions, will never want excuses for his conduct, be it what it will; and, if this be once granted, Sir George Byng must be allowed to have done his duty as well as any admiral ever did; for to his conduct it was entirely owing, that Sicily was subdued, and his catholic majesty forced to accept the terms prescribed him by the quadruple alliance. He it was, that first engaged the Germans to set foot in that island, even after the taking of Messina. The cause of the emperor being become the cause of his master, he served the interest of that prince with such zeal and fidelity as exhibited a pattern to his own subjects. He lived in such harmony with the Imperial viceroys and generals, as has been seldom seen among fellow-subjects united in command; the want of which has proved the ruin of many important expeditions. He was incapable of performing duty in a cold or negligent manner; and, when  
any

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any service was committed to his management, he devoted his whole application to it; nor could any fatigue, or indisposition of body, ever divert or interrupt his attention from any point that required present dispatch. To this it might be in a great measure owing, that he was never unfortunate in any undertaking, nor miscarried in any service intrusted to his direction: for, whoever will trace public or private events to their source, will find, except where the immediate finger of Providence is visible, that what is ascribed to chance, is generally the effect of negligence or imprudence. He always proceeded upon solid principles, and left nothing to fortune that could be accomplished by foresight and application. His firmness and plain-dealing to those foreigners who treated with him upon business, was such, that it contributed greatly to the dispatch and success of his transactions with them; for they could depend upon what he said: and, as they saw he used no arts or chicanes himself, and had too discerning an eye to suffer them to pass unobserved in others, they often found it their best policy to leave their interests in his hands and to his management; being certain of a most impartial and punctual performance of whatever he engaged in. His reputation was so thoroughly established in this particular, that, in the frequent disputes and altercations, that arose between the Savoyards and Germans, during the course of the war, and be-

tween the latter and the Spaniards at the conclusion of it, he was the common umpire between them; always shunning and opposing any extravagant or unjust demands; and reconciling, as much as possible, the violences of war with the rules of honour and justice.

After the performing so many signal services the admiral departed from Italy to attend his majesty to Hanover; and the king, among many other gracious expressions of favour and satisfaction, told him, That he had found out the secret of obliging his enemies as well as his friends; and, that the court of Spain had mentioned, with great acknowledgments, his fair and friendly behaviour in the provision of transports, and other necessaries, for the embarkation of their troops, and in protecting them from many vexatious oppressions that had been attempted. No wonder that a man endowed with such talents, and such a disposition, left behind him in Italy, and other foreign parts, the character of a great soldier, an able statesman, and an honest man.

During his majesty's stay at Hanover, he began to reward the eminent services of Sir George Byng, by making him treasurer of the navy, and rear-admiral of Great-Britain; and, on his return to England, one of his most honourable privy-council.

In the year 1721, he was created a peer of Great-Britain, by the title of viscount Torrington, and baron Byng, of Southill, in Devonshire.

vonshire: and, in 1725, he was made one of the knights of the Bath.

At his late majesty's accession to the throne, he was made first commissioner of the admiralty; in which high station he breathed his last, at his house in the Admiralty, of an asthma, in June, 1733, in the seventieth year of his age, and was buried at Southill, in Bedfordshire.

His lordship was but of a tender constitution, though well supplied with spirits, which were not so conspicuous in gaiety of conversation, as in activity in all the duties and functions of life or business, in which he was indefatigable; and, by a continual habit of industry, had hardened and intured a body, not naturally strong, to patience and fatigue.

He had made no great proficiency in school-learning, which the early age of going to sea rarely admits of; but his great diligence, joined with excellent natural parts, and a just sense of honour, made him capable of conducting difficult negotiations and commissions, with proper dignity and address.

During the time he presided in the Admiralty, he laboured in improving the naval power of this kingdom; in procuring encouragement for seamen, who in him lost a true friend; in promoting the scheme for establishing a corporation for the relief of widows and children of commission and warrant officers in the royal navy; and in every other service to his country that he was capable of.



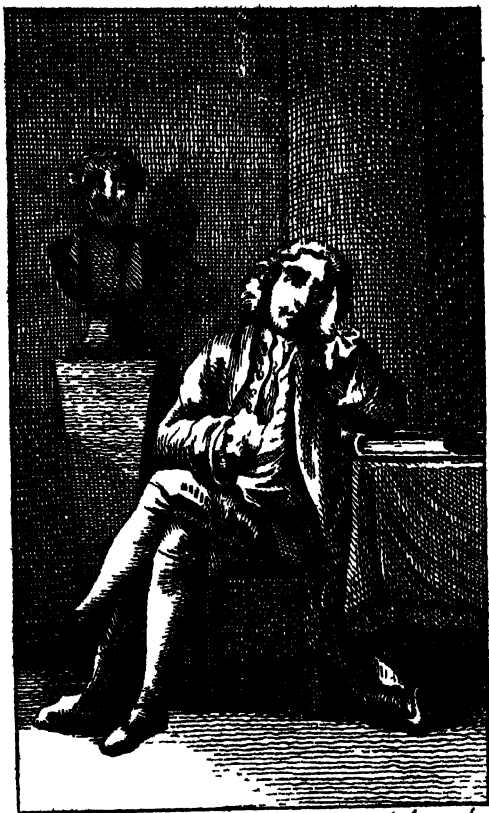
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He married, in 1692, Margaret, daughter of James Master, of East-Landen, in Kent, esq. by whom he had eleven sons and four daughters; but only three of the former, and one of the latter, survived him.



**T H E**





*Alex. Pope Esq.*

## THE LIFE OF

## ALEXANDER POPE.

ALEXANDER POPE, a much admired poet, was descended of a good family by both parents; and born on the eighth of June, 1688, in London, where his father was then a considerable merchant.

We are obliged for the account of Mr. Pope's family to the satires that were made upon him; in answer to which, he thought proper to publish the following short genealogy.

That Alexander Pope, his father, was of a gentleman's family in Oxfordshire; the head of which was the earl of Down, an Ireland, whose sole heir had married the daughter of Lindsey. His daughter was married to the son of William Turner, esq. of York: she had three daughters; one of whom was killed; another died in the service of king Charles, and the eldest following his fortune, and becoming a general officer in Spain, left her what estate remained after the sequestrations and forfeitures of her family; which, as well as that of her husband, was of the Popish religion.

He

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He was taught to read very early by an aunt, and he learned to write without any assistance, by copying printed books; which he executed with great neatness and exactness. He was put, at eight years of age, under the direction of one Taverner, a priest, who taught him the rudiments of the Latin and Greek tongues together. He imbibed these elements of classical learning with the greatest facility, and, on first seeing the poets, discovered at once, both the peculiar bent of his inclination, and the excellency of his genius.

About this time accidentally meeting with Ogilby's translation of Homer, he was so much struck with the force of the story, that, notwithstanding the deadness and insipidness of the versification, Ogilby became a favourite book. The Ovid of Sandys fell next in his way; and, it is said, that the raptures these translations gave him were so strong, that he spoke of them with pleasure all his life after.

From his private tutor he was sent to a popish seminary at Twyford, near Winchester; whence he was removed to school at Hyde-park-corner.

He was now about ten years of age, and, being carried sometimes to the play-house, the sight of those theatrical representations put him upon turning the chief events of Homer into a kind of play, made up of a number of speeches from Ogilby's translation, connected by

by verses of his own. He persuaded the upper boys to act this piece; a curiosity which one would have been glad to have seen. The master's gardener represented the character of Ajax, and the actors were dressed after the prints of his favourite Ogilby; which indeed make far the best part of that book, being designed and engraved by artists of note.

In the mean time, he was so unfortunate as to lose, under his two last masters, what he had acquired by the first. In this condition, at twelve years of age, he retired with his parents to Binfield, in Windsor forest, where his father had provided a convenient little box, not far from Oakingham, in Berkshire; and at his first coming, 'tis said, was put under another priest for a few months, but with as little success as before; so that he resolved to become his own master. This country retreat, however, suited his melancholy and reflective temper; and it was about this time that he wrote his Ode on Solitude, which appears as the first-fruits of his poetical genius.

It was here too that he first perused the writings of Waller, of Spenser, and of Dryden; but, on the first sight of Dryden, he abandoned the rest, having now found an author whose cast was extremely congenial with his own. After he met with this favourite's works, he was never easy till he had seen the author; and, for that purpose, he procured a friend to bring him to a coffee-house where Dry-

Dryden was, only that he might be blessed with the sight of that great poet.

This could not have been long before Mr. Dryden's death, which happened in 1701; so that Mr. Pope was never known to him: a misfortune which he laments in the following pathetic words:

“ Virgilium tantum vidi.”

He never mentioned him afterwards without a kind of rapturous veneration. Thus, for instance, having run over the names of his great friends and encouragers, he concludes with the person whom he esteemed above all the rest, in the following distich:

And St. John's self, great Dryden's friend before,  
With open arms received one poet more.

His works therefore he studied with equal pleasure and attention; he placed them before his eyes as a model: in short, he copied not only his harmonious versification, but the very turns of his periods: and hence it was that he became enabled to give to rhyme all the harmony of which it is capable.

Binfield being near Easthamstead, where Sir William Trumbull then resided, our young genius was introduced into the acquaintance of that gentleman; who, being struck with admiration

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miration at his extraordinary parts, and pleased with his good sense as well as the decency and regularity of his manners, gave him great encouragement, and presently admitted him to a share of his friendship.

In the mean time, master Pope was not wanting to himself in improving his talents for poetry : at fourteen years old he had composed several elegant pieces that way : at fifteen, he had acquired a ready habit in the two learned languages ; and to which he soon after added French and Italian.

It is a common observation, that some seeds of vanity and self-conceit are necessary ingredients in the composition of a poet ; accordingly our author was not without a proper share of these qualities, and now thought himself capable of undertaking an epic poem. In that spirit, he set about writing his *Alexander* this year ; and the performance, as might be expected, was a glaring proof of his childish folly. However, he had either sense or modesty enough, or both, to keep it in his study ; and in his riper years spoke of it with a frankness and ingenuity that does more than atone for the forwardness of his attempt.

“ I confess,” says he, “ there was a time when I was in love with myself ; and my first productions were the children of self-love upon innocence. I had made an epic poem and panegyrics upon all the princes, and I thought myself



myself the greatest genius that ever was. I cannot but regret those delightful visions of my childhood, which, like the fine colours we see when our eyes are shut, are vanished for ever."

In the following year, 1704, he entered upon a task more suitable to his age. This was his Pastorals, which brought him into the acquaintance of some of the most eminent wits of that time. He communicated these first to Mr. Wycherley, who was highly pleased with them, and sent a copy to Mr. Walsh, gentleman of the horse to queen Anne, and author of several ingenious pieces, both in prose and verse.

This introduced him to the acquaintance of that gentleman, who proved a very sincere friend to him; and having immediately discerned that our poet's chief talent lay not so much in striking out new thoughts of his own, as in improving those which he borrowed from the antients, and an easy versification, told him, among other things, that there was one way left open for him to excel his predecessors, and that was correctness; observing, that, though we had several great poets, yet none of them were correct: he therefore advised him to make that his study.

The advice was not lost: Mr. Pope received it very gratefully, and observed it very diligently, as appears by the subsequent letters

## ALEXANDER POPE. 91

ters in this correspondence, and no doubt the harmony of his numbers was in a great measure owing to this.

This year, 1704, he wrote also the first part of his *Windfor-Forest*, though the whole was not published till several years afterwards, in 1710, with a dedication to lord Lansdowne, whom he mentions as one of his earliest acquaintance. Mr. Wycherley was another. To these, besides Bolingbroke and Walsin, he adds Congreve, Garth, Swift, Atterbury, Talbot, Somers, and Sheffield, as persons with whom he was not only conversant, but beloved, at sixteen or seventeen years of age; an early bard for such acquaintance: and the catalogue might be made yet more illustrious, had he not confined it to the time when he wrote the Pastorals and *Windfor-Forest*.

The circumstance of our author's writing the first part of this poem so early as 1704, furnishes no bad apology for the general fault charged upon it; few images, it is said, are introduced, which are not equally applicable to any place whatsoever: It is true, descriptive poetry, of which kind is this piece, was manifestly none of the shining talents of Pope; but, when it is remembered, that he pitched upon a description of *Windfor-Forest*, then the place of his abode, at sixteen, an age for which this kind of poetry has the greatest charms, it may as truly be said, that he could not then be sensible which way the chief force of his genius lay; and this may more particularly

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ticularly be insisted on by all who have taken notice of what our poet hath said of this poem in an epistle to Dr. Atterbury,

While pure description held the place of sense.

It is allowed that he breaks out into a true poetical enthusiasm more than once, and particularly in the conclusion; and there was indeed a circumstance which, no doubt, strongly animated his muse in that part. The peace, afterwards concluded at Utrecht, was this year, 1710, projected by his particular friends Harley and St. John, who were now at the head of the ministry. Accordingly, we find the influences and effects of peace, and its consequence, a diffusive commerce, marked by select circumstances, such as are best adapted to strike the imagination by lively pictures, the selection of which constitutes true poetry. At the close of all, there appears a groupe of allegorical personages, in the rear of which stand the following figures, painted in living colours, with their proper insignia and attributes.

----- Envy her own snakes shall feel,  
And persecution mourn her broken wheel;  
There faction roar, rebellion bite her chain,  
And gasping furies thirst for blood in vain.

It is said, that,

“ Addison

\* Addison was intercessibly chagrined at this noble conclusion of Windsor-Forest, both as a politician and as a poet. As a politician, because it so highly celebrated that treaty of peace, which he deemed so pernicious to the liberties of Europe; and as a poet, because he was deeply conscious, that his own Campaign, that Gazette in rhyme, contained no strokes of such genuine and sublime poetry as the conclusion before."

No part of our bard's life is more interesting than that of his conduct in cultivating friendships, especially with his brother poets. At the age of eighteen, he was grown so high in the esteem of Wycherley, that he thought him capable of correcting his poems, (which had been damned) so as they might appear again in print. Pope complied with the request, and executed it with equal freedom and judgment. But the faults proved too many for the author of them to be told of; he was old, became jealous, and construed his young master's ingenuity, and plain dealing, into want of respect. Not only the design of publishing was dropped, but all correspondence with the corrector suspended.

This ungenerous resentment was lively represented by Pope; and, though Wycherley was prevailed with afterwards, by the mediation of a common friend, to resume the correspondence, yet this went no farther than base complaisance.

plaisance. However, some time after Mr. Wycherley's death, his poems being republished by some mercenary hand, in 1728, our author, the following year, printed several letters that had passed between them, in vindication of Mr. Wycherley's good name, against some misconstructions prefixed to that edition.

Our poet's conduct, throughout this whole trying affair, was greatly above his years; but, young as he was, his talents were now beginning to ripen into full maturity. This appeared conspicuously in his Essay on Criticism; which, though wrote so early as 1708, yet placed him among those of the first rank in his art. It is indeed esteemed a masterpiece in it's kind, and so discovered the peculiar turn of his genius. He was not yet twenty years old, so that every body stood amazed to find such a knowledge of the world, such a maturity of judgment, and such a penetration into human nature, as are there displayed; insomuch that it became a subject for the critics to display their profoundest skill in accounting for it. The greatest geniuses in painting, as well as poetry, were generally observed, not to have produced any of their master-pieces before the age of thirty, or thereabouts; and that Mr. Pope's genius ripened earlier, was owing, it is said, to a happy conjuncture of concurring circumstances. He was happily secured from falling into the debaucheries of women and wine (the too frequent

quent bane of hopeful youth) by the weakness and delicacy of his constitution, and the bad state of his health. The sensual vices were too violent for so tender a frame, he never fell into intemperance or dissipation, which is of the greatest consequence in preserving each faculty of the mind in due vigour. Even his misshapen figure is alleged to have been of use to him as a writer.

It is an observation of lord Bacon, that whosoever hath any thing fixed in his person that induces contempt, hath also a perpetual spur within to rescue and deliver himself from it. Hence it has been thought not improbable that our poet might be animated by this circumstance to double his diligence, to make himself distinguished by the rectitude of his understanding, and beautiful turn of mind, as much as he was by the deformity of his body. This remark is thought to receive some countenance from our author himself in the following lines :

What crops of wit and honesty appear,  
From spleen, from obstinacy, hate, or fear :  
See anger, zeal, and fortitude supply ;  
Ev'n avarice, prudence ; sloth, philosophy ;  
Nor virtue, male or female, can we name,  
But what will grow on pride, or grow on  
shame.

It is certain that he strictly fulfilled the precept of Horace in each particular, *Multa tulit secitque puer, sudavit & alfit.*

It

It was another circumstance, equally propitious to the studies of Pope, in this early part of his, that he inherited a fortune that was a decent competency, and sufficient to supply the small expences which, both by constitution and reflection, he required. This he preserved from the two most destructive enemies to a young genius, want and dependance. Nor was the circumstance of being placed beneath opulence, and an high station, less propitious; since these almost unavoidably embarrass and immerse the possessor in the cares, the pleasures, the indolence, and the dissipation, that accompany abundance. Thus it is conceived, that these external aids, as so many auxiliaries, assisting the native inborn strength of our poet's genius, had their share in this triumphant production.

But how triumphant soever may be the merit of the Essay on Criticism, yet it was still surpassed, in a poetical view, by the Rape of the Lock. The former indeed excelled in the didactic way, for which he was peculiarly formed; a clear head and strong sense were his characteristical qualities; his chief force lay in the understanding, rather than in the imagination: but it is the creative power of the last that constitutes the proper characteristic of poetry; and therefore it is in the Rape of the Lock that Pope principally appears a poet; since in this performance he has displayed more imagination than in all his other works put together.

The

The poem took its birth from an incidental quarrel that happened between two noble families, that of lord Petre and Mrs. Fermor, both of our author's acquaintance, and of the same religion. His lordship, in a party of pleasure, carried it so far as to cut off a favourite lock of the lady's hair. This, tho' done in the way of gallantry, was seriously resented, as being indeed a real injury. Hence there presently grew mutual animosities, which being seen with concern by a common friend to all, that friend requested Pope to try the power of his muse on the occasion; intimating, that a proper piece of ridicule was the likeliest means to extinguish the rising flame. Pope readily complied with this friendly proposal; and, the juncture requiring dispatch, his first design was completed in less than a fortnight; which being sent to the lady, had more than the proposed effect. Pleased to the highest degree with the delicacy of the compliment paid to her, she first communicated copies of it to her acquaintance, and then prevailed with our author to print it: as he did, though not without the caution of concealing his name to so hasty a sketch. But the universal applause which the sketch met with, put him upon enriching it with the machinery of the sylphs; and in that new dress, the two cantoes extended to five, came out the following year, 1712, ushered by a letter to Mrs. Fermor, to whom he afterwards addressed another, which is esteemed far superior to any of Voiture.



### 93. BRITISH PLUTARCH.

The insertion of the machinery in proper places, as it is done without the least appearance of being awkwardly stitched in, so it was always esteemed by Pope himself, as an effort of his greatest skill and art as a poet ; and I have always esteemed the letter above-mentioned to Mrs. Fermor, as the most engaging effort of his skill and art as a letter-writer. But let the reader judge.

“ To Mrs. Arabella Fermor, after her marriage.

“ Madam,

“ YOU are sensible, by this time, how much the tenderness of one man of merit, is to be preferred to the addresses of a thousand ; and by this time the gentleman you have made choice of, is sensible, how great is the joy of having all those charms and good qualities, which have pleased so many, now applied to please one only.\* It was but just, that the same virtues which gave you reputation, should give you happiness ; and I can wish you no greater, than, that you may reap it to as high a degree, as so much good nature must give it to your husband.

“ It may be expected, perhaps, that one who has the title of being a wit, should say something more polite upon this occasion ; but I am really more a well-wisher to your felicity, than a celebrator of your beauty. Besides, you are now a married woman, and in a fine way

to be à great many better things than à fine lady ; such as, an excellent wife, a faithful friend, a tender parent, and, at last, as the consequence of them all, a saint in Heaven. You ought now to hear nothing, but that which is all that you ever desired to hear, (whatever others have spoken to you) I mean truth ; and it is with the utmost that I assure you, no friend you have, can more rejoice in any good that befalls you, is more sensibly delighted with the prospect of your future happiness, or more unfeignedly desires a long continuance of it.

“ I hope you will think it but just, that a man, who will certainly be spoken of as your admirer after he is dead, may have the happiness, while he is living, to be esteemed,

“ Your, &c.”

Here Pope appears the man of gallantry, good-nature, and a thorough knowledge of the world. This letter is sometimes annexed to the poem not injudiciously, as rendering the entertainment compleat in the happy marriage of the heroine.

This year he also published his Temple of Fame ; having, according to his usual caution, kept it two years in his study. That object of the universal passion was full upon his thoughts at this time ; he had been, from the first setting out, in full stretch after it, and saw it now within his reach : accordingly, we find him

in high spirits, diverting himself with the ~~his~~ ladies, to one of whom he sent a copy of his Temple, with an humorous gay epigram, which he introduces in the following words :

“ Now I talk of Fame, I send you my Temple of Fame, which is just come out ; but my sentiments about it you will see much better by this epigram.

What's fame with men, by custom of the nation,  
Is call'd, in women, only reputation :  
About them both why keep we such a pother,  
Part you with one, and I'll renounce the other.”

A couplet in the same taste had slipped into the Rape of the Lock.

Oh ! hadst thou, cruel, been content to seize  
Hairs less in fight, or any hairs but these.

Some of the fair-sex taking offence, as it is said, to these lines, occasioned the two following ; wherein that delicacy is handled very roughly, as being no better than a mere affected piece of prudery.

Who censure most, more precious hairs would lose,  
To have the Rape recorded by his muse :

In

In a passage of the letter which accompanied this epigram, it appears, that he had now begun to translate Homer's *Iliad*, and made a good progress in it; and, in 1713, he gave out proposals for publishing that translation by subscription.

He had been pressed to this undertaking some years before by some of his friends, and was now greatly encouraged in the design by others. His religious principles disqualified him from receiving any solid testimony of his merit, in the usual way, of a place at court. Common prudence therefore prompted him to make the best advantage he could of the reputation he had obtained in his trade, and try to raise an independent fortune by it. And the success was such, as must needs answer, if not exceed, his most sanguine expectations; he acquired a considerable fortune, by a subscription so large, that it does honour to the kingdom. He saw all parties and denominations join in it, notwithstanding the underhand practices of some pretended friends, who in vain opposed the stream. At the head of these was found Mr. Addison.

Our author had long paid an awful veneration to that rival; the consciousness of which, served to set a keener edge upon his resentment now. But, though the sense of so much treachery and falsehood tingled in every vein, yet he managed it with the nicest prudence, and at last revenged it with a satire which does honour to himself.

The several steps of his conducting this very critical affair may be seen in his letters on this occasion, to which the reader who has not perused them, will thank us for referring him. We shall only observe, in general, that, among other contemptibly mean artifices made use of by Addison, to suppress the rising merit and fame of his rival; it appears from these letters, that he discouraged Pope from inserting the machinery in the Rape of the Lock; that, to hurt him with the Whigs, he industriously gave it out, that Pope was a Tory and a Jacobite; and said that he had a hand in writing the Examiners. That Addison himself translated the first book of Homer's Iliad, published under Tickell's name; which he declared, after Pope's was printed, was still the best that had ever been done in any language. And, last of all, he privately encouraged Gildon to abuse Pope in a virulent pamphlet, and gave him ten guineas for the performance. In short, this was the most dangerous attack that Pope ever experienced. How much then does it raise the character of his parts and prudence, that he was able absolutely to defeat it, and even to break these darts, which envy and malignity had forged against him, upon the head of the forger.

Thus, with admirable temper and spirit, he preserved his dignity; and, keeping his mind attentive to every means that might render his translation more perfect, he took a journey, a little before the death of queen Anne, to Oxford;

ford; to consult some books in the Bodleian and other libraries in that university; and the first part of his translation was published the following year.

This gave great satisfaction, so that his finances were now put in such a flourishing state, that he resolved to place himself nearer his friends in the capital. In that view, the small affair at Binfield being sold, he purchased a house at Twickenham, whither he removed with his father and mother before the expiration of this year, 1715. He calls this one of the grand æras of his days; and the taste he displayed in improving the seat, became the general vogue.

While he was employed in this delightful work, he could not forbear doubling the pleasure he took in it by communicating it to his friends.

"The young ladies," says he, in a letter to Mr. Blount, "may be assured, that I make nothing new in my gardens, without wishing to see them print their fairy steps in every corner of them. I have put the last hand to my works of this kind, in happily finishing the subterraneous way" (from his house to his garden, under the high-road which separated them) "and grotto. I there found a spring of the clearest water, which falls in a perpetual rill, that echoes thro' the cavern day and night. From the river Thames you see thro'

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my arch, up a walk of the wilderness, to a kind of open temple, wholly composed of shells, in the rustic manner; and from that distance, under the temple you look down thro' a sloping arcade of trees, and see sails on the river suddenly appearing and vanishing as through a perspective glass. When you shut the door of this grotto, it becomes, on the instant, from a luminous room, a camera obscura : on the wall of which all the objects of the river, hills, woods, and boats, are forming a moving picture in their visible radiations; and when you have a mind to light it up, it affords you a very different scene. It is finished with shells, interspersed with pieces of looking-glass in angular forms; and in the ceiling is a star of the same materials; at which, when a lamp of an orbicular figure, of thin alabaster, is hung in the middle, a thousand pointed rays glitter and are reflected over the place. There are connected to this grotto, by a narrower passage, two porches, one towards the river, of smooth stones, full of light and open; the other towards the garden, shadowed with trees, and rough with shells, flints, and iron ores. The bottom is paved with simple pebble, as is also the adjoining walk up the wilderness to the temple, in the natural taste, agreeing not ill with the little dripping murmur and the aquatic idea of the whole place. It wants nothing to complete it but a good statue, with an inscription like that beautiful

teous

teous picturesque one, which you know I am so fond of.

Hujus nymphæ loci, sacri custodia fontis,  
 Dormio, dum blandæ sentio murmur aquæ :  
 Parce meum, quisquis tangis hæc marmora,  
 somnum  
 Rumpere ; seu bibas, sive lavere, tace.

Nymph of the grott, these sacred springs I  
 keep,  
 And to the murmur of these waters sleep.  
 Ah ! spare my slumbers, gently tread the cave,  
 And drink in silence, or in silence lave.

“ You’ll think I have been very poetical in this description, but ’tis pretty nearly the truth.”

This letter was wrote in 1725 : he afterwards wrote a poem upon it in a peculiar cast and kind : and Mr. Warburton informs us, that the improving this grotto was the favourite amusement of his declining years ; so that, not long before his death, by enlarging and incrusting it about with a vast number of ores and minerals of the richest and rarest kinds, he had made it one of the most elegant and romantic retirements that is any where to be seen.

“ And,” adds that writer, “ the beauty of his poetic genius, in the disposition and ornaments



ments of those romantic materials, appeared to as much advantage as in any of his best contrived poems."

His father survived this removal only two years, dying suddenly, after a very healthy life, at the age of seventy-five. He was buried by his son at Twickenham, who erected a handsome monument to his memory, with an inscription celebrating his innocence, probity, and piety. As he was a Jacobite, he could not purchase, nor put his money to interest on real security, and, as he adhered to the interest of king James, he made a point of conscience, not to lend to the new government; so that, though he was worth near twenty thousand pounds, when he left off business, from the same principles, at the revolution; yet afterward living upon the stock, he left our poet to the managers of so narrow a fortune, that any one false step would have been fatal.

This rigidity of the old gentleman's Jacobite principles betrays an uncommon degree of bigotted weakness, which it was the son's care, as much as possible, to keep out of sight. This was a part of prudence, as well as piety, and we find him throwing a veil over it more than once. ❖ ❖

For right hereditary tax'd and fin'd,  
He sunk to poverty with peace of mind.

———What

-What fortune, pray? Their own;  
 And better got than Bestia's from the throne.  
 Born to no pride, inheriting no strife,  
 Nor marrying discord in a noble wife:  
 Stranger to civil and religious rage,  
 'The good man' talk'd innocuous thro' his  
 age.  
 No courts he saw, no suits would ever try;  
 nor could he honor hazard a lye.  
 In arms he was no school-man's subtle  
 language, but the language of the heart:  
 by his own experience wise;  
 Heathen by nature, and by exercise.  
 His life, though long, is past unknown;  
 His death, so instant, and so stout a ~~green~~

The noble gentleman had sometimes recommended the study of poetry, in his early years, the study of poetry as the best means of repairing that waste of sublimance which from his own principles was rendered unavoidable. But this must have gone no farther than a simple proposal, since we are assured by the son that he broke no duty, nor disobeyed either parent, in following the trade of a poet; and his father had the satisfaction of living long enough to see him in a sure way of making a genteel fortune by it.

In verity, want of a due attention to this necessary point was none of our poet's weakness; on the contrary, we find him taking all

opportunities to push it to the utmost. In this spirit, not satisfied with the golden-tide that was continually flowing in from his translation, he published, in 1717, a collection of all the poetical pieces he had wrote before; in which the regard to his fortune had undeniably a considerable share. He proceeded in the same spirit to give a new edition of *Shakespeare*; which being published in 1721, discovered that he had consulted his fortune in the undertaking more than his fame.

The *Iliad* being finished, he engaged upon the like footing to undertake the *Odyssey*; and that work being compleated in 1725, the following year was employed, in concert with his associates, Dean Swift and Dr. Arbuthnot, in printing several volumes of *Miscellanies*.

About this time, he narrowly escaped losing his life as he was returning home in a friend's chariot, which, on passing a bridge, happened to be overturned, and thrown with the horses into the river. The glasses were up, and he not able to break them; so that he was in immediate danger of drowning, when the postillion, who had just recovered himself, came to his relief; broke the glass which was uppermost, took him out, and carried him to the bank; but a fragment of the broken glass cut one of his hands so desperately, that he lost the use of two of his fingers.

He had now made such a fence about his fortune, as put it out of danger; and the like fence, which he had been long labouring to  
set

set about his fame, being finished in the *Dunciad*, that satire came out, in the year 1727, in 4to.

He somewhere observes, That the life of an author is a state of warfare; and he has, in this attack, or, rather, series of attacks, shewed himself a complete general in the art of this kind of war. *Fabius cunctando*, &c. Our poet bore the insults of his enemies full ten years before he hazarded a general battle; he was all that while climbing the hills of Parnassus; during which, he could not forbear some slight skirmishes; and the success of these was of use, in shewing him his superior strength, and thereby adding confidence to his courage, but he was now seated safely on the summit: besides, he had obtained what, in his own opinion, is the happiest end of life, the love of valuable men; and the next felicity, he declares, was to get rid of fools and scoundrels: to which end, after having, by several affected marches and counter-marches, brought the whole army of them into his power, he suddenly fell upon them with a pen, as irresistible as the sword of Michael the arch-angel; and made an absolutely universal slaughter of them, suffering not a single soul to escape his fury.

The poem cautiously made its first appearance, as a masked-battery, in Ireland; nor, indeed, was the triumph completed without the assistance of our author's undoubted second, Dean Swift, who, having furnished it with  
some

some exquisitely wrought artillery, in that pompous figure it made a new appearance, printed at London in 1728.

This edition was presented to the king and queen, by Sir Robert Walpole; who probably at this time offered to procure Mr. Pope a pension; which he refused with the same spirit as he had formerly done to an offer of the same kind made him by the lord Hallifax; which spirit of our author in declining this offer of Sir Robert's seems to be expressed in a letter of his, about this time, to his friend Dean Swift.

"I was once before," says he, "displeased at you for complaining to Mr. ----- of my not having a pension; I am so again, at your naming it to a certain lord. I have given proof, in the course of my life, from the time when I was in the friendship of lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Craggs, even to this time when I am civilly treated by Sir Robert Walpole, that I never thought myself so warm in any party's cause, as to deserve their money, and therefore would never have accepted it. I desire you to take off any impressions which that dialogue may have left upon his lordship's mind, as if I ever had any thoughts of being beholden to him, or any other, in that way."

One of the proofs here intimated, was the refusal he had given, many years before, to an.

ALEXANDER POPE. THE

an offer of the same kind by lord Halifax ; as appears by a letter to that lord as early as the year 1714 ; where he writes in these terms :

“ My Lord,

“ I AM obliged to you, both for the favours you have done me, and for those you intend me. I distrust neither your will, nor your memory, when it is to do good ; and, if ever I become troublesome or solicitous, it must not be out of expectation, but out of gratitude. It is, indeed, a high strain of generosity in you, to think of making me easy all my life, only because I have been so happy as to divert you a few hours ; but, if I may have leave to add, it is because you think me no enemy to my native country, there will appear a better reason ; for I must of consequence be very much, as I sincerely am,

“ Yours, &c.”

• It is also well known, that Mr. Craggs, in 1710, gave him a subscription for one hundred pounds in the South-Sea, of which he made no manner of use.

As these offers must be understood to be made in the view of taking him off from his attachments to his friends, his refusal of them are so many illustrious proofs of his steadiness in that point. Yet he declares, in a letter to  
Dr,

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Dr. Swift, that he had personal obligations, which he would ever preserve, to men of different sides.

In 1729, our poet, in the view of setting yet another fence about his fortune, purchased an annuity of one hundred pounds for his own life, that of his mother being likewise included.

The same year, by the advice of lord Bolingbroke, he turned his pen to subjects of morality; and accordingly we find him, with the assistance of that friend, at work this year upon his Essay on Man. The following extract of a letter to Dean Swift, discovers the reason of his lordship's advice.

"Bid him [Pope] talk to you of the work he's about, I hope in good earnest; it is a fine one, and will be in his hands an original. His sole complaint is, that he finds it too easy in the execution. This flatters his laziness. It flatters my judgment; who always thought, that, universal as his talents are, this is eminently, and peculiarly, his, above all the writers I know, living or dead; I do not except Horace."

Pope tells the dean, in the next letter, what this work was.

"The work, he [Bolingbroke], speaks of with such abundant partiality, is a system of Ethics, in the Horatian way."

In

## ALEXANDER POPE. 113

In another letter, written probably in the entrance of the following year, we see the general aim which, at least, he wished might be attributed to this work.

“ I am just now writing, or rather planning a book to bring mankind to look upon this life with comfort and pleasure ; and put morality in good humour.”

This subject was exactly suited to his genius; he found the performance easy to a degree that surprized himself, and he thereupon employed his leisure hours in pursuing the same design in his *Ethic Epistles*, which came out separately in the course of the two following years. But a great clamour was raised against the Fourth of these Epistles, addressed to lord Bolingbroke, upon Taste ; and the character of Timon in it gave great offence. The description, it is said, was too plain not to be known who was pointed at ; and the late duke of Chandos it is said wrote to our author in such a manner as made him sensible, that he ought to have confined himself to a made character.

Mr. Pope, we are told, began to wish he had not carried the matter so far, but there was no receding ; all he could do was to palliate the business ; and this was done in a letter by Mr. Cleland to Mr. Gay, in December, 1731. But this letter was not satisfactory, nor yet one he wrote to the duke professing his innocence.

All



All this while, he had the pleasure to see the Epistle sell so, that it went through the press a third time very soon. Thereupon, in high spirits, he published a letter to lord Burlington, the March following; wherein having taken notice of the clamour which, he says, through malice and mistake still continued; he expresses his resentment of this usage, disavows any design against the duke, makes him several high compliments, and then proceeds thus :

“ Certainly the writer deserved more candour, even in those who know him not, than to promote a report, which, in regard to that noble person was impertinent; in regard to me ~~injurious~~ <sup>injurious</sup>.

“ I have taken,” continues he, “ an opportunity of the third edition, to declare his belief not only of my innocence, but of their malignity; of the former of which my heart is as conscious, as I fear some of theirs must be of the latter; his humanity feels a concern for the injury done to me, while his greatness of mind can bear with indifference the insult offered to himself.”

“ After this, he concludes with threatening to make use of real names, not fictitious ones, in his ensuing works; and how far he went into the execution of that menace, will presently be seen; for the unreasonable complaints which  
were

were made against this Epistle by some secret enemies, put him upon writing satires, in which he ventured to attack the characters of some persons of high rank; and the affront was resented in such a manner, as provoked him to let loose the whole fury of his satirical rage against them, which was poured forth in prose and verse.

In the first satire of the second book of *Horace*, he had described lord Harvey and lady Mary Wortley Montague, so characteristically, under the names of lord Fanny and Sappho, that these two noble personages did not only take up the same weapons against the aggressor, but used all their interest among the nobility, and even with the king and queen, to hurt him.

This last injury was what Pope complained of most; and, for that reason, the letter which he wrote in answer to it was shewn to her majesty as soon as it was finished, which concludes with these words:

“After all, your lordship will be careful not to wrong my moral character with those under whose protection I live; and through whose lenity alone I can live with comfort. Your lordship, I am confident, upon consideration, will think you inadvertently went a little too far, when you recommended to their perusal, and strengthened by the weight of your approbation, a libel mean in its reflections upon my poor figure, and scandalous in those

those upon my honour and integrity ; wherein I was represented as an enemy to human race, a murderer of-reputation, a monster marked by God, like Cain, deserving to wander accursed through the world. --- A strange picture of a man, who had the good fortune to enjoy many friends, who will be always remembered as the first ornament of his age and country, and no enemies that ever continued to be heard of, except Mr. John Dennis and your lordship. --- A man who never wrote a line, in which the religion or government of his country, the royal family, or their ministry, were disrespectfully mentioned ; the animosity of any one party gratified at the expence of another ; or any censure past, but upon known vices, acknowledged folly, or aggressing impertinence. It is with infinite pleasure he finds, that some men, who seem ashamed and afraid of nothing else, are so very sensible of this ridicule ; and 'tis for that very reason, he resolves, by the grace of God, and your lordship's good leave,

That, while he breathes, no rich or noble  
knave  
Shall walk the world in credit to his grave :

“ This he thinks is rendering the best service he can to the public, and even to the good government of his fellow-creatures. For this, at least, he may deserve some commendations from the greatest persons in it. Your  
lordship

lordship knows of whom I speak --- their names I should be as sorry, and as much ashamed, to place near yours on such an occasion, as I should to see you, my lord, placed so near their persons, if you could ever make so ill an use of their ear as to asperse or misrepresent an-innocent man."

Pope did not think proper to print this letter; nor yet, what is more remarkable, to communicate it to his friend Swift; to whom he excused himself in a letter, sent with his Fourth Essay on Man, and his Epistle to lord Cobham.

"There is a woman's war," says he, "declared against me by a certain lord; his weapons are the same which women and children use; a pin to scratch, and a squirt to bespatter. I writ a sort of answer, but was ashamed to enter the lists with him; and, after shewing it to some people, suppressed it: otherwise it was such as was worthy of him, and worthy of me."

He had before given that friend an account of this affair, and of his own conduct in it, as follows:

"That I am an author, whose characters are thought of some weight, appears from the great noise and bustle that the court and town make about me. I desire your opinion

as to lady ----'s and lord ----'s performance. They are certainly the top wits of the court; and you may judge, by that single piece, what can be done against me; for it was laboured, corrected, pre-commended, and past disapproved; so far as to be disowned by themselves, after each had highly cried it up for the other's.

I have met with some complaints, and have heard at a distance of some threats occasioned by my verses. I sent fair messenges to acquaint them where I was to be found in town, and to offer to call on them at their houses to satisfy them; and so it dropped. It is very poor in any one to rail and threaten at a distance, and have nothing to say to you when ~~they see you.~~

He knew well the nature of his friend, and this address was ad hominem; accordingly he received a most comforting answer, which concludes thus:

"Give me a shilling, and I will insure you, that posterity shall never know one single enemy, excepting those whose memory you have preserved."

After this, he continued writing satires till the year 1739, when he entertained some thoughts of undertaking an epic poem; which, however, proved abortive. He has told us in the Epilogue the reason of his lay-  
ing

ing down his pen on those satirical subjects; and he gave the true one for laying down his moral essays long before to Dr. Swift.

“ I am,” says he, “ almost at the end of my morals, as I have been long ago of my wit; my system is a short one, and my circle narrow. Imagination has no limits; that is a sphere in which you may move on to eternity: but where one is confined to truth, or, to speak more like a human creature, to the appearances of truth, we soon find the shortness of our tether.”

This was not his case as a satirist; the tartness of that lash was too liquorish to be cloying. Though he was drawn ~~out of the sphere~~ for a while by some more immediately interesting views, yet we shall find him returning to it again in a little time, and continuing to move in it till death arrested his steps.

In the interim, several of his familiar letters having stole into the world without his privity, he published a genuine collection of them in 1737; the avowed incident for which publication is retailed in the Preface, and the truth of it rests upon our author's name.

The story is undeniably somewhat intricate, which caused a suspicion that some cunning had been used by him; but we must content ourselves with another reason for publishing these letters at this time, which considers them as a part of the design of his *Magnum Opus*, or his

his Essay on Man, Ethic Epistles, and Satires.

"My opinion is," says D. Warburton, "that there might be collected from them the best system that ever was wrote for the conduct of human life, at least to shame all reasonable men out of their follies and vices; and, no doubt, the manner in which Mr. Curll got possession of some of them, is a flaming instance of the corruption of the age."

Whatever may be thought of this reason, it is certain the increase of his purse had no small share in the motives for publishing them. Familiar letters betwixt persons of any ~~rank~~ will always meet with readers; and the reason of it is well expressed in these very letters by lord Bolingbroke, who, in a postscript to one of Pope's to Swift, writes thus:

"I seek no epistolary fame, but am a good deal pleased to think, that it will be known hereafter that you and I lived in the most friendly intimacy together.---Pliny," continues his lordship, writ his letters for the public; so did Seneca; so did Balzac, Voiture, &c. Tully did not; and therefore these give us more pleasure. We see Cato, and Brutus, and Pompey, such as they really were, and not such as the gaping multitude of their own age took them to be, or as historians and poets have

have represented them to us.---That is another pleasure.

"I remember to have seen a procession at Aix la Chapelle, wherein an image of Charlemagne is carried on the shoulders of a man, who is hid by the long robe of the imperial saint. Follow him into the vestry, you see the bearer slip from under the robe, and the gigantic figure dwindle into an image of an ordinary size, and is set by among other lumber."

His lordship's remark is undeniably very just, and unavoidably turns our eyes upon his pupil, who is the person chiefly concerned in it. Accordingly, we find, in these letters, not only that he had given into some luxuries in his youth, as well as other poets, for that he had made public confession of long before; but, what was at this time particularly interesting, these letters discover the peculiar sting in the name of Sappho, under which he satirizes lady Mary Wortley Montague.

That pretieuse, Mrs. Elizabeth Thomas, so called by her keeper Mr. Cromwell, being entrusted by the latter to preserve several of our author's letters which he had sent to Cromwell, she sold them to Curll, who, it is said, made use of them as so many decoy-ducks to draw in others; and, by that means, the surreptitious edition of our author's letters was completed; for which reason our author sent

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the following rondeau to Cromwell, that it might be communicated to her.

You know where you did despise,  
 T'other day, my little eyes,  
 Little legs, and little thighs, \*  
 And something else of little size,  
 You know where.

You, 'tis true, have fine black eyes,  
 Taper legs, and tempting thighs :  
 Yet what more than all we prize  
 Is a thing of little size,  
 You know where.

It was about this time, that, the ill state of Pope's health having frequently drawn him to Bath, he could not long remain there unknown to Mr. Allen, a very eminent Quaker who resided near that place, and was so much pleased with the Letters of our poet, as to seek an opportunity for contracting a friendship with their author ; the result of which was his acquaintance with Mr. Warburton ; who tells us, he had, before the commencement of this intimacy, wrote his Commentary upon the Art of Criticism, as also on the Essay on Man.

The great complaint of that essay was its obscurity ; which our author had been told of  
 by

by his friend Dean Swift, who wrote to him thus upon its first appearance :

"I confess," says that friend, "in some few places, I was forced to read twice. I believe I told you before what the duke of D--- said to me on that occasion ; how a judge here who knows you, told him, that, on the first reading these essays, he was much pleased, but found some lines a little dark ; on the second, most of them cleared up, and his pleasure increased ; on the third, he had no doubt remaining ; and, that he admired the whole."

But their obscurity was comparatively a small fault ; the author was also charged with having laid a plan of deism. It was against this objector, that Mr. Warburton first entered the lists, in defence of Pope, in these Commentaries ; and Mr. Pope, in a letter to him on this occasion, acknowledges the obscurity of his piece.

"You have," says he, "made my system as clear as I ought to have done, and could not : you understand me as well as I do myself, but you express me better than I express myself." And, in a subsequent letter upon the same subject, he goes still further : "You understand my work," says he, "better than I do myself."

Mr. Warburton's Commentary being that approved, the *Essay on Man* was re-published therewith in 1740. But it appears, from those acknowledgments of Mr. Pope, as it lord Bolingbroke, who confessedly furnished the matter of the *Essay*, had put more into our author's head than he was able perfectly to comprehend. This edition, with the Comment, was translated into French, by a gentleman belonging to Mons. Cromby, an ambassador. Mr. Pope desired his friend Warburton to procure a good translation of the *Essay on Man* into Latin prose, which was begun by a gentleman of Cambridge; but a specimen which was sent to our author not happening to please him, that design proved abortive.

It was also at the instance of Mr. Warburton, that our author added a fourth book to the *Dunciad*; which was printed separately in the year 1742.

About the time that Pope acquainted his last-mentioned friend with his design to add this book to the three former of the *Dunciad*, they went together to Oxford, where Mr. Pope had the compliment made to him of an offer of a doctor's degree in law; which he chusing to wave, went further west to visit some friends, leaving his fellow-traveller in the university; who staying there a day longer to visit his friend Dr. John Conybeare, dean of Christchurch, received a message that day from the vice-chancellor, by a person of eminence in the university, with the like compliment,

to know if a doctor's degree in divinity would be acceptable to him. The offer was entertained in a very different manner from the former to Mr. Pope. But this latter proved a meer compliment, the makers of it being, as it seems, mistaken in imagining, that one friend would not chuse to be doctored without the other; so that, when the congregation met for the purpose, the grace passed in the negative.

This affront was warmly resented by Mr. Warburton: but he had sufficient amends made to him for it by Dr. Thomas Herring, archbishop of Canterbury, who conferred that degree upon him not long after.

In the next year, this whole poem of the *Dunciad* came out together, as a specimen of a more correct edition of his works, which he had then resolved to give to the public: and he made some progress in that design, but did not live to compleat it.

In the former edition, of 1742, Mr. Cibber being then become laureat, was promoted to the throne of Dullness: which indignity he was judged to have merited by a late attack upon our author, wherein, among other things, was revealed a ludicrous passage of his youthful days to this purpose: That Mr. Pope was decoyed to a brothel by a certain nobleman, in company of Cibber; who there, out of pure compassion, pulled him off one of the ladies whom he had mounted, and might have done himself a mischief. The story was told

with humor, and, indeed, was no more than a very apposite return to a reflection cast upon Cibber some years before, in the epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot.

And has not Colley still his lord and whore ?

The truth is, there had been between them an irreconcilable quarrel of a long standing, which, unluckily for Pope, and with some little blemish to his character, began in the play-house ; and he continued in a state of warfare with the players ever after. In the mean time, Cibber thrived, procured many valuable friends, and at last obtained the laureat's place.

All this was apparently beheld with no pleasing eyes by his antagonist, who now resolved to take his full revenge by making him the hero of his *Dunciad*. To this purpose, no art that he could devise was left untried against this hated rival. The farce began with an act of settlement upon the throne, which runs thus :

“ BY virtue of the authority in us vested, by the act of subjecting poets to the power of a licenser, we have revised this piece ; where, finding the stile and place of king have been given to a certain pretended pseudo-poet, or phantom, of the name of Theobald ; and apprehending the same may be deemed, in some sort, a reflection on majesty ; or, at least,  
an

an encroachment on that legal authority, which has bestowed on another person the crown of poesy: We order the said pretended pseudo-poet, or phantom, utterly to vanish and depart out of the work; and declare the said throne of poesy, from this instant, to be abdicated and vacant, unless duly and lawfully supplied by the laureat himself: and it is hereby enacted, that no other person presume to fill the same."

And, lest this should not be sufficient, there was prefixed the following advertisement:

"It was expressly confessed, in the Preface to the first edition, that this poem was not published by the author himself. It was printed originally in a foreign country; and what foreign country? Why, one notorious for blunders; where, finding blanks only instead of proper names, those blunderers filled them up at their pleasure. The very hero of the poem has been mistaken to this hour; so that we are obliged to open our notes with a discovery who he really was. We learn from the former editor, that this piece was presented by the hands of Sir Robert Walpole to King George the Second. Now the author directly tells us, his hero is the man

. . . . . who brings  
The Smithfield muses to the ears of kings.  
G 4 And

And it is notorious to whom this prince conferred the honour of laureat."

To these jocular attempts to fix the intended infamy upon Cibber, there was added another in the serious way, in the edition of 1743, by Mr. Warburton; who tells us, he had long had a design of giving some sort of notes on the work of this poet, before he had any acquaintance with him. He thought some were wanting of a more serious kind."

"I had lately," continues he, "the pleasure of passing some months with the author in the country, where I prevailed upon him to do what he had long designed, and favour me with an explanation of several passages in his works. It happened, just at this juncture, that there was published a ridiculous book against him full of personal reflections, which furnished him with a lucky opportunity of improving this poem, by giving it the only thing it wanted, a more considerable hero. He was always sensible of its defect in that particular, and only let the piece pass with the hero it had, purely for want of a better; not entertaining the least expectation, that such a one was reserved for this post as had obtained the laureat. He could no longer deny this justice. And yet I shall venture to say, there was another motive which had still more weight with our author; this person, who, from

from every folly, not to say vice, of which another would be ashamed, has constantly derived a vanity, and therefore was the man in the world who would least be hurt by it."

All this while the general cry ran in favour of Colley, and this last effort on Pope's side was so far from having the desired effect, that it was turned against him, and construed to proceed from a consciousness of his newly-dubbed hero's superiority in the skirmish; it being observable, that, in these pen-wars, contrary to those of the sword, he that keeps the field, i. e. has the last word, has generally the worst of it.

The truth is, Cibber, in his pamphlet, promised to keep his temper, and did so; by which means our author was deprived of his usual weapons of advantage, and the laureat got some reputation by his performance; which consequently Mr. Pope must have lost. --- Thus it happened, that he was a little unlucky in the choice of both the heroes to the Dunciad.

His edition of Shakespear proved no better than a foil to set off the superiority of Theobald's; and Cibber bore away the palm from him in the drama. We have account of two attempts of Pope's, one in each of the two branches of this species of poetry, and both unsuccessful.

He had all his life been subject to an habitual head-ach, and that hereditary complaint



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was now greatly increased by a dropsy in his breast, under which he expired on the thirtieth of May, 1744, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

His body was deposited, pursuant to his own request, in the same vault with those of his parents, to whose memory he had erected a monument with an inscription written by himself. It is as follows, but in capital characters.

D. O. M.

Alexandro Pope, viro innocuo, probò, pio;

Qui vixit an. 75. ob. 1717.

Et Edithæ conjugì, inculpabili, pientissimæ;

Quæ vixit annos 93. ob. 1733.

Parentibus bene merentibus

Filius fecit.

Et sibi. Obiit an. 1744. ætatis 56.

This last line was added after his death, in pursuance to his will; the rest was done on the death of his parents.

Not long before his death he made his Will; in which he constituted Miss Blount his testamentary-heir during her life; and, among other legacies, he bequeathed to Dr. Warburton the property of such of his works already printed, as he had written, or should write, Commentaries upon, and had not been otherwise disposed of, or alienated; with this condition, that they were published without future.

After

After he had made his Will, he wrote this legatee a letter; in which, having informed him of his legacy, he says,

own the late encroachments upon my constitution make me willing to see the end of all further care about me or my works. I would rest for the one, in a full resignation of my being to be disposed of by the Father of all Mercies; and, for the other, though, indeed, a trifle, yet a trifle may be some example, I would commit them to the candour of a sensible and reflecting judge, rather than to the malice of every short-sighted and malevolent critic, or inadvertent and censorious reader; and no head can set them in so clear a light, or so well turn their best side to the day, as your own."

In discharge of this trust, that gentleman gave a compleat edition, in 1751, of all Mr. Pope's works, executed in such a manner as, he was persuaded, would have been to the author's satisfaction.

The elegance of this edition is very commendable, and it is not to be doubted, but that the author's design, as to the collection, is faithfully observed, as far as it could be done. How far the editor's privilege in writing notes extended, is only known to himself. Several inserted in the first edition, were left out in the second; but still several were retained, which contain severe, not to say, ill-natur-

ed, reflections, upon the author's dearest friends  
These have not escaped censure.

'Tis said, that allowing the remarks to be just, yet the inserting them in his works must either be an injury to his will, or leave his moral character indefensible. One of these gives room to suspect this last to be the case with regard to these friends.

In the 84th letter of the 9th volume, Mr. Pope expresses himself to that old friend, Dean Swift, thus :

“ You ask me if I have got any supply of new friends to make up for them that are gone ; I think that impossible : but as, when the continual washing of a river takes away our flowers and plants, it throws weeds and sedges in their room ; so the course of time brings us something, as it deprives us of a great deal : and, instead of leaving us what we cultivated, and expected to flourish and adorn us, gives us only what is of some little by accident. Thus I have acquired — But I had my heart hardened, and blunt to new impressions. Adieu. I can say no more, I feel so much.”

To the word room we see the following note :

“ There are some strokes in this letter, which can no otherwise be accounted for, than by the author's extreme compassion and tenderness

depress of heart, too much affected by the complaints of a peevish old man, labouring and impatient under his infirmities, and too intent on the friendly office of mollyfying them."

The editor, we see, attributes these expressions of the author's love to an extremity of compassion, that is to weakness; but it is a very pardonable one, as long as we don't know them to be inconsonant to some other warm expressions of love to any of his new friends, which may well be supposed to be the case at the time of his writing this letter, that is, before he knew Dr. Warburton, or wrote those letters to him that are printed in this volume; wherein, if the expressions are sincere, it cannot be denied that our author had changed his heart a little since the time of his writing the letter here cited to Dean Swift. Be that as it will; Lord Orrery very justly disliked the continual complimenting turn of these letters; and those that have been since added by Mr. Warburton, will give him no reason to like them better on that account.

In 1749, there was published a treatise by lord Bolingbroke, with a preface, wherein Mr. Pope's conduct, with regard to that piece, was represented as a most inexcusable act of treachery to his friend. It was entitled *An Advertisement*, and was drawn up in these terms;

The

“ The following papers were written several years ago, at the request, and for the sake, of some particular friends, without the design of ever making them public. How they came to be made so, at this time, it may be proper to give an account.

“ The original draughts were entrusted to a man on whom the author thought he might entirely depend after he had exacted from him, and taken, his promise, that they should never go into any hands except those of five or six friends who were named to him. In this confidence the author rested securely for some years; and, though he was not without suspicion, that they had been communicated to more persons than he intended they should be, yet he was kept, by repeated assurances, even from suspecting that any copies had come into hands unknown to him. But this man was no sooner dead, than he received information, that an entire edition of one thousand five hundred copies of these papers had been printed; that this very man had corrected the press, and that he had left them in the hands of the printer to be kept with great secrecy till further orders. The honest printer kept his word with him better than he kept his word with his friend; so that the whole edition came at last into the hands of the author, except some few copies which this person had taken out of the heap and carried away. By these copies it appeared, that the man who had

had been guilty of this breach of trust, had taken upon him further to divide the subject, and to alter and omit passages according to the suggestion of his own fancy.

“What aggravates this proceeding, is, that the author had told him, on several occasions, among other reasons, why he would not consent to the publication of these papers, was, That they had been wrote in too much haste and hurry for the public eye, though they might be trusted to a few particular friends; he added, more than once, that some things required to be softened; others, perhaps, to be strengthened; and the whole, most certainly, to be corrected; even if they were to remain, as he then imagined they would, in the hands of a few friends only.”

The main particulars of this fact were too notorious to be denied: but “Mr. Warburton entered heartily, with great zeal, into his friend’s vindication; and endeavoured even to throw the greatest part of the infamy, that necessarily stuck to such a piece of treachery, upon that noble lord; and by that means drew part of the resentment due to Mr. Pope upon himself, in an answer which was published with this title: “To the most impudent Man alive.”

A slip of the like kind with this of our author, in respect to his friend lord B----, was made by his friend Dean Swift in regard to himself.

“ They

“ They have printed,” says he, “ in Ireland, my letters to Dr. Swift ; and, which is the strongest circumstance, by his own consent and direction, without acquainting me till it was done.”

Thus he writes to Dr. Warburton ; to which that friend notes, That this was the strongest resentment he [Pope] ever expressed of this indiscretion of his old friend ; as being persuaded that it proceeded from no ill will to him, though it exposed him to the ill will of others :---and it therefore is to be hoped, that a like indulgence will be exerted in attaining an excuse for this proceeding of our author ; more, especially since Warburton assures us, That,

“ To have been one of the best poets in the world was but Mr. Pope’s second praise ; he was in a higher class ; he was one of the noblest works of God, he was An Honest Man.”

And lord Orrery observes, That,

“ If we may judge of him by his works, his chief aim was to be esteemed a man of virtue. His letters are written in that style, his last volumes are all of the moral kind ; he has avoided trifles, and consequently has escaped a rock, which has proved very injurious

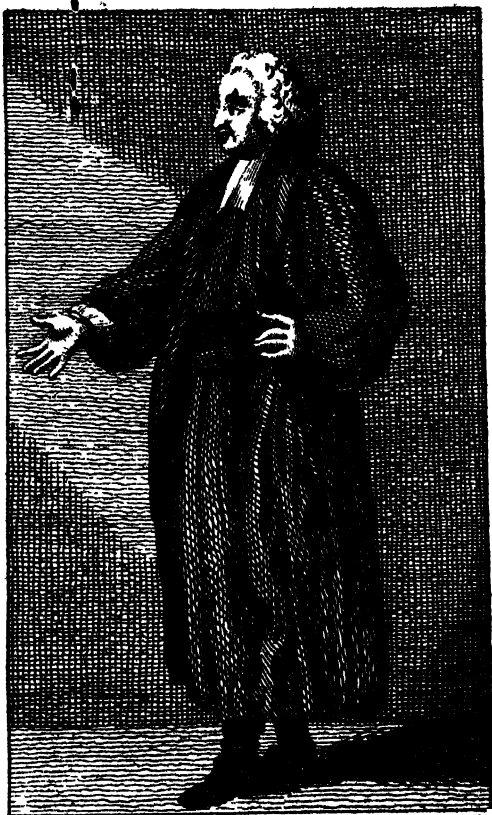
riots to Dr. Swift's reputation. He has given his imagination full scope, and yet has preserved a perpetual guard upon his conduct. The constitution of his body and mind might really incline him to the habits of caution and reserve. The treatment which he met with afterwards, from an innumerable tribe of adversaries, confirmed this habit, and made him slower than the dean in pronouncing his judgment upon persons and things. His prose writings are little less harmonious than his verse: and his voice, in common conversation, was so naturally musical, that I remember Honest Tom Southern used to call him *The Little Nightingale*. His manners were easy, delicate, and engaging; and he treated his friends with a politeness that charmed, and a generosity that was much to his honour. Every guest was made happy within his doors, "pleasure dwelt under his roof, and elegance presided at his table."



## THE LIFE OF

## JONATHAN SWIFT.

**JONATHAN SWIFT**, Doctor of Divinity, dean of St. Patrick's, son of Mr. Jonathan Swift and Mrs. Abigail Erick, was born in Dublin, November 30, 1667, and was carried into England soon after his birth, by his nurse, who being obliged to cross the sea, and having a nurse's fondness for the child at her breast, conveyed him on ship-board without the knowledge of his mother or relations, and kept him with her at Whitehaven in Cumberland, during her residence three years at that place. Many of his friends imagined him to be a native of England; and many others, whether friends or enemies cannot be said, were willing to suppose him the natural son of Sir William Temple. Neither of these suggestions can be true; for although, in his angry moods, when he was provoked at the ingratitude of the Irish, he was frequently heard to say, "I am not of this vile country; I am an Englishman!" yet, in his cooler hours, he never denied his country: on the contrary, he frequently mentioned, and pointed out, the house where he was born. The other suggestion,



*Dean Swift.*  
a bustine, sculpt.



gestion, concerning the illegitimacy of his birth, is very false. Sir William Temple was employed as a minister abroad from the year 1665 to the year 1670; so that Dr. Swift's mother, who never crossed the sea, except from England to Ireland, was out of all possibility of a personal correspondence with Sir William Temple, till some years after her son's birth. As the greatest part of the doctor's father's income perished with him, the care, tuition, and expence of his children, devolved upon his elder brother, Mr. Godwin Swift, who voluntarily became their guardian, and supplied the loss which they had sustained in a father.

The infancy of Dr. Swift passed on without any marks of distinction. At six years old he went to school at Kilkenny, and about eight years afterwards was entered a student of Trinity-college in Dublin; where he lived in perfect regularity, and underwent an entire obedience to the statutes: but the moroseness of his temper often rendered him unacceptable to his companions; so that he was little regarded, and less beloved; nor were the academical exercises agreeable to his genius.

He held logic and metaphysics in the utmost contempt, and he scarce considered mathematics and natural philosophy, unless to turn them into ridicule.

The studies he chiefly followed were history and poetry, in which he made no great progress; but to all other branches of science he had given so very little application, that when  
he

appeared as a candidate for bachelor of arts he was set aside on account of insufficiency; and even he obtained his admission, *speciali gratiâ*, a phrase which, in that university carries with it the utmost marks of reproach. Swift was full of indignation at the treatment he had received in Ireland, and therefore resolved to pursue his studies at Oxford. However, that he might be admitted *ad eundem*, he was obliged to carry with him the testimonium of his degree. The expression *speciali gratiâ* is so peculiar to the university of Dublin, that, when Mr. Swift exhibited his testimonial at Oxford, the members of the English university concluded, that the words *speciali gratiâ* must signify a degree conferred in reward of extraordinary diligence and learning. He was immediately admitted *ad eundem*, and entered himself of Hart-hall, now Hartford-college, where he constantly resided (some visits to his mother at Leiceſter, and to ſir William Temple at Moore park, excepted) till he took his degree of maſter of arts, which was in the year 1691.

The reader may be curious to know in what manner Mr. Swift ſubſiſted, or by what channel the ſprings of his revenue were ſupplied, at a time when both kingdoms, but particularly Ireland, were in ſuch great confuſion.

The reader will alſo tremble for him, when he is told, that in the year of the revolution his uncle Mr. Godwin Swift had fallen into a kind of lethargy, which deprived him by  
degrees,

degrees, of his speech and memory, and rendered him totally incapable of being of the least service to his family.

But in the midst of this distressed situation, Sir William Temple (whose lady was related to Dr. Swift's mother) most generously stepped in to his assistance, and avowedly supported his education at the university of Oxford. Sir William Temple's friendship was immediately construed to proceed from a consciousness that he was the real father.

It ought not to be here omitted, that another of his father's brothers, Mr. William Swift, assisted him when at Oxford, by repeated acts of friendship and affection.

Swift, as soon as he had quitted the university of Oxford, lived with Sir William Temple, as his friend and domestic companion. When he had been about two years with Sir William, he contracted a very long and dangerous illness, by eating an immoderate quantity of fruit.

To this surfeit he has often been heard to ascribe that giddiness in his head, which, with intermissions, sometimes of a longer and sometimes of a shorter continuance, pursued him, till it seemed to complete its conquest, by rendering him the exact image of one of his old Struldbruggs, a miserable spectacle, devoid of every appearance of human nature, except the outward form.

In compliance to his physicians, when he was sufficiently recovered to travel, he went  
to

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to Ireland to try the effects of his native air : and found so much benefit by the journey, that in compliance to his own inclination, he soon returned into England, and was again received in a most affectionate manner, by Sir William Temple, who had now left Moorepark, and was settled at Shene, where he was often visited by king William.

Here Swift had frequent conversations with that prince, in some of which the king offered to make him a captain of horse : which offer in splenetic dispositions he always seemed sorry to have refused ; but at that time he had resolved within his own mind to take orders, and during his whole life, his resolutions once fixed, wherever after immoveable. Thus determined, he went over to Ireland, and enlisted himself under the banner of the church.

He was recommended by Sir William Temple to lord Capel, then lord Deputy, who gave him a prebend, of which the income was about 100 l. a year. Swift soon grew weary of his preferment ; it was not sufficiently considerable, and was at so great a distance from the metropolis, that it absolutely deprived him of that conversation and society, in which he delighted.

He had been used to very different scenes in England, and had naturally an aversion to solitude and retirement. He was glad therefore to resign his prebend in favour of a friend, and to return to Shene, where he lived as usual till the death of Sir William Temple, who

who besides a legacy in money, left to him the care and trust of publishing his post-humous works.

During Swift's residence with Sir William Temple, he became intimately acquainted with a lady, whom he had distinguished, and often celebrated under the name of Stella. Swift married her, but notwithstanding, she was a most accomplished woman, he could never be prevailed on to own her openly as his wife, although after her death, (which happened in 1727) he could never hear her mentioned without a sigh.

Upon the death of Sir William Temple, Swift came to London, and took the earliest opportunity of delivering a petition to king William, under the claim of a promise made by his majesty to Sir William Temple, "that Mr. Swift should have the first vacancy that happened among the prebends of Westminster or Canterbury." The petition had no effect. It was either totally forgotten, or drowned amidst the clamour of more urgent claims.

After a long and fruitless attendance at Whitehall, Mr. Swift reluctantly gave up all thoughts of a settlement in England.

Mr. Swift had dedicated Sir William Temple's works to the king, which dedication was neglected, nor did his majesty take the least notice of him after Sir William's death.

Honour or rather pride, hindered him from staying long in a state of servility and contempt



tempt. He therefore complied with an invitation from the earl of Berkeley, appointed one of the lords justices in Ireland, to attend him as his chaplain and private secretary. Lord Berkeley landed at Waterford, and Mr. Swift acted as secretary during the whole journey to Dublin. But one Bush, another of lord Berkeley's attendants, had by this time insinuated himself into the earl's favour, and by his whisperings, which were perhaps too attentively listened to, had persuaded his lordship that the post of secretary was improper for a clergyman, to whom only church preferments could be suitable or advantageous. After some slight apology, Mr. Swift was divested of his office, which was given to Bush.

This treatment was thought injurious, and Swift expressed his sensibility of it, in a short, but satirical copy of verses, entitled, *The Discovery*. However, during the government of the earls of Berkeley and Galway, who were jointly lords justices of Ireland, two livings, Laracor and Rathbeggan, were bestowed upon Mr. Swift, both these rectories together, were worth about two hundred and sixty pounds a year, and were the only church preferments he enjoyed, till he was appointed dean of St. Patrick's, in the year 1713.

After Mr. Swift had taken possession of his livings, he went to reside at Laracor, and gave publick notice to his parishioners, that he would read prayers once every Wednesday and Friday. Upon the subsequent Wednesday the bell

bell was rung, and the rector attended in his desk, when after having sat some time, and finding the congregation to consist only of himself and his clerk Roger, he began with great composure and gravity, but with a turn peculiar to himself, "Dearly beloved Roger, "the scripture moveth you and me in sundry "places," and proceeded regularly through the whole service. This trifling circumstance is only mentioned to shew, that he could not resist a vein of humour whenever he had an opportunity of exerting it.

During his mother's life, who resided at Leicester, he scarce ever failed paying her an annual visit. But his manner of travelling was as singular as any other of his actions. He often went in a waggon, but more frequently walked from Holyhead to Leicester, London, or any other part of England. He generally chose to dine with waggoners, hostlers, &c. and used to lay in houses where he found written over the door, lodgings for a penny. He delighted in scenes of low life, and the vulgar dialect was not only a fund of humour for him, but in all probability acceptable to his nature, otherwise how are the many filthy ideas and indelicate expressions that are found throughout his works to be accounted for.

In the year 1701, Swift took his doctor's degree, and towards the latter end of that year king William died.

On the accession of queen Anne, Dr. Swift came into England. It cannot be denied, that

the chief ministers of that queen, whether distinguished under the titles of whigs or tories, of high church or of low church, were from the beginning to the end of her reign, encouragers of learning, and patrons of learned men.

The wits of that æra were numerous and eminent. Amidst the cloud, yet superior to the rest appeared Dr. Swift. In a mixture of these two jarring animals, called whig and tory, consisted the first ministry of queen Anne, but the greater share of the administration was committed to the whigs, who soon engrossed the whole; keeping their sovereign captive within their own walls.

The queen, whose heart was naturally inclined towards the tories, remained an unwilling prisoner several years to the wigs, till Mr. Harley at length delivered her, and during the remainder of her life, surrounded and defended with a new set of troops under the duke of Ormond.

Dr. Swift was known to the great men of each denomination; it is certain that he was bred up, and educated with wigs; at least with such as may be found ranged under that title. His motives for quitting whiggism for toryism, appear throughout his works.

No metamorphoses can produce a parallel equal to the change that appears in the same man, when from a patriot he becomes a courtier, yet it may be asserted, and will redound to the honour of Dr. Swift, that when  
he

he rose into the confidence and esteem of those great men, who sat at the helm of affairs during the last years of queen Anne's reign, he scarce ever lost himself, or grew giddy by fulness of power, or the exalted station of frequently appearing in the confidence and favour of the first minister, he may have been carried away by passion, or may have erred in judgment, but he was always upright in his intentions

There is scarce any material circumstance to be found relating to his life from the year 1707, till the change of the ministry in the year 1710, during which interval, he worked hard to undermine the whigs, and to open a way for the Tories to the queen. His intimacy with lord Oxford commenced, as may be deduced from his works, in October 1709. In a poem written in 1715, he says,

'Tis (let me see) three years and more  
(October next will make it four)  
Since Harley bid me first attend,  
And chose me for an humble friend.

And again in another poem written in this same year,

My lord would carry on the jest,  
And down to Windor take his guest.  
Swift much admires the place and air  
And longs to be a canon there.  
A canon! that's a place too mean,  
No, doctor, you shall be a dean.

By this last quotation, and by numberless other instances in his works, it seems undeniable, that a settlement in England was the constant object of Dr. Swift's ambition; so that his promotion to a deanery in Ireland was rather a disappointment than a reward, as appears in many expressions in his letters to Mr. Gay and Mr. Pope.

In the year 1739, the character of Dr. Swift as an author, was perfectly established, and as Homer says of Ulysses: he could appear a beggar among beggars, and a king among kings.

From the year 1710, to the latest period of queen Anne, we find him fighting on the side of the ministers, and maintaining their cause in pamphlets, poems and weekly papers. A man always appears of more consequence to himself, than he is in reality to any other person. Such was the case of Dr. Swift. He saw himself indulged by the smiles of the earl of Oxford in particular, and knew how useful he was to the administration in general, and in one of his letters he mentions, that the place of historiographer was preserved for him; but there is reason to suspect, that he flattered himself too highly; at least it is very evident, that he remained without preferment till the year 1713, when he was made dean of St. Patrick's. In point of power and revenue, such a deanery might appear no inconsiderable promotion; but to an ambitious mind, whose perpetual aim was a settlement in England,

land, a dignity in any other kingdom must appear only an honourable and profitable banishment.

There is great reason to imagine, that the temper of Swift might occasion his English friends to wish him happily and properly promoted at a distance. His spirit was ever untractable, the motions of his genius irregular. He assumed more the airs of a patron than a friend. He affected rather to dictate than advise. He was elated with the appearance of enjoying ministerial confidence. He enjoyed the shadow: the substance was detained from him.

Reflections of this kind will account for his missing an English bishoprick, a disappointment which he imagined he owed to a joint application made against him to the queen by Dr. Sharp, then archbishop of York, and by a lady of the highest rank and character.

Archbishop Sharp, according to Dr. Swift's account, had represented him to the queen, as a person who was not a Christian; the great lady had supported the aspersions; and the queen upon such assurances, had given away the bishoprick contrary to her first intentions. Swift kept himself indeed within some tolerable bounds when he spoke of the queen: but his indignation knew no limits, when he mentioned the archbishop or the lady.

Dr. Swift had little reason to rejoice in the land where his lot had fallen: for upon his arrival in Ireland to take possession of his

deanery, he found the violence of party reigning in that kingdom to the highest degree. The common people were taught to look upon him as a jacobite, and they proceeded so far in their detestations as to throw stones at him as he passed through the streets.

The chapter of St. Patrick's like the rest of the kingdom, received him with great reluctance. They thwarted him in every particular he proposed. He was avoided as a pestilence, opposed as an invader, and marked out as an enemy to his country. Such was his first reception as dean of St. Patrick's. Fewer talents and less firmness, must have yielded to such violent opposition.

But so strange are the revolutions of this world, that Dr. Swift, who was now the detestation of the Irish rabble, lived to govern them with an absolute sway.

The dean's first step was to reduce to reason and obedience, his reverend brethren of the chapter of St. Patrick's in which he succeeded so well, and so speedy, that in a short time after his arrival, not one member of that body offered to contradict him, even in trifles. On the contrary, they held him in the highest veneration.

Dr. Swift made no longer stay in Ireland, in the year 1713, than was requisite to establish himself a dean, and to pass through certain customs, and formalities, or to use his own words,

Through

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Through all vexations,  
Patents, impositions, abjurations,  
Bull-fruits, and tenths, and chapter-treats,  
Dues, payments, fees, demands, and — cheats.

During the time of these ceremonies, he kept a constant correspondence with his friends in England: all of whom were eminent, in either birth, station or abilities.

In the beginning of the year 1714, Dr. Swift returned to England. He found his great friends at the helm, much disunited among themselves. He saw the queen declining in her health, and distressed in her situation. The part which he had to act upon this occasion, was not so difficult as it was disagreeable; he exerted all his skill to reunite the ministers.

As soon as Swift found his pains fruitless, he retired to a friend's house in Berkshire, where he remained till the queen's death, an event which fixed the period of his views in England, and made him return as fast as possible to his deanery in Ireland, loaded with grief and discontent.

From the year 1714, till he appeared in 1720, as a champion for Ireland against Wood's halfpence, his spirit of politics and patriotism, was kept closely confined within his own breast. His attendance upon the public service of the church was regular and uninterrupted: and, indeed regularity was peculiar to him in all his actions, even in the most trifling.



His works, from the year 1714, to the year 1720, are few in number, and of small importance, Poems to Stella, and trifles to Dr. Sheridan fill up a great part of that period.

In the year 1720, he began to resume the character of a political writer. A small pamphlet in defence of the Irish manufactories, was supposed to be his first essay in Ireland in that kind of writing: and to that pamphlet, he owed the turn of the popular tide in his favour.

Dr. Swift's sayings of wit, and humour had been handed about, and repeated from time to time among the people. They were adapted to the understanding, and pleased the imagination, of the vulgar; and he was now looked on in a new light, and distinguished by the title of the dean.

The pamphlet, proposing the universal use of the Irish manufacture within the kingdom, had captivated all hearts. Some little pieces of poetry to the same purpose, were no less acceptable and engaging, nor was the dean's attachment to the true interest of Ireland any longer doubted. His patriotism was as manifest as his wit; he was looked upon with pleasure and respected as he passed through the streets; and had attained to so high a degree of popularity, as to become the arbitrator in disputes among his neighbours.

But the popular affection which the dean had hitherto acquired, may be said not to have been universal, till the publication of the  
Drapier's

Drapier's Letters, which made all ranks and professions universal in his applause. The occasion of those letters is too well known to need any place here.

At the sound of the Drapier's trumpet a vast spirit arose among the people of all ranks and denomination. The papist, the fanatic, the whig and the tory, all lifted themselves under the banner of the Drapier.

Never was any name bestowed with more universal approbation, than the name of the Drapier was bestowed upon the dean, who had no sooner assumed it, than he became the idol of Ireland, even to a degree of devotion, and bumpers were poured forth to the Drapier, as large and as frequent as to the glorious and immortal memory of King William III. Acclamations and vows for his prosperity attended him wherever he went, and his effigies was painted in every street in Dublin.

The dean was consulted in all points relating to domestic policy in general, and to the trade of Ireland in particular; but he was more immediately looked on as the legislator of the weavers, who frequently came to him in a body, to receive his advice in settling the rates of their manufactures, and the wages of their journeymen.

When elections were depending for the city of Dublin, many corporations refused to declare themselves, till they had consulted his sentiments and inclinations.

We have now conducted the dean through the most interesting circumstances of his life to the fatal period wherein he was utterly deprived of his reason, a loss which he often seemed to foresee, and prophetically lamented to his friends. The total deprivation of his senses came upon him by degrees.

In the year 1736, he was seized with a violent fit of giddiness, he was at that time writing a satirical poem, called, *The Legion Club*; but he found the effects of his giddiness so dreadful that he left the poem unfinished, and never afterwards attempted a composition of any length, either in verse or prose: however, his conversation still remained the same, lively and severe; but his memory gradually grew worse and worse, and as that decreased, he grew every day more fretful and impatient.

From the year 1739, to the year 1744, his passions grew so violent and ungovernable, his memory became so decayed, and his reason so depraved, that the utmost precautions were taken to prevent all strangers from approaching him: for till then, he had not appeared totally incapable of conversation: early in the year 1742, the small remains of his understanding became entirely confused, and the violence of his rage increased absolutely to a degree of madness. In this miserable state, he seemed to be appointed as a proper inhabitant of his own hospital. especially as from an outrageous lunatic, he sunk into a quiet, speechless idiot;

idiot; and dragged out the remainder of his life in that helpless situation. He died towards the latter end of October 1745.

The manner of his death was easy without the least pang or convulsion; even the rattling in his throat was scarce sufficient to give any alarm to his attendants till within some very little time before he expired. Swift certainly foresaw his fate.

Dr. Swift was often heard to lament the state of childhood and idiotism, to which some of the greatest men of the nation were reduced before their death. He mentioned as examples within his own time, the duke of Marlborough and lord Somers; and when he cited these melancholy instances it was always with a heavy sigh, and with great apparent uneasiness, as if he felt an impulse of what was to happen to him before he died.

He left his whole fortune, some few legacies excepted, which was about twelve thousand pounds, to the building of an hospital for idiots and lunatics. As to his works, lord Corke has given a very nice and critical account of them in his Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Swift, from which this life is extracted.

Dr. Swift's will, like all his other writings, is drawn up in his own peculiar manner; even in so serious a composition he cannot help indulging himself (in leaving legacies that carry with them an air of raillery and jest. He disposes of his three hats, his bell, second bed,

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and third beaver) with an ironical solemnity that renders the bequest's ridiculous. He bequeaths,

"To Mr. John Gratton, a silver box, to keep in it the tobacco which the said John usually chewed, called pigtail."

But his legacy to Mr. Robert Gratton is still more extraordinary.

"Item, I bequeath to the reverend Mr. Robert Gratton, prebendary of St. Audeon's, my strong box, on condition of his giving the sole use of the said box unto his brother, Dr. James Gratton, during the life of the said doctor, who has more occasion for it."

These are so many impressions of his turn, and way of thinking; and there is no doubt, that the persons thus distinguished, look upon these instances, affectionate memorials of his friendship, and as tokens of the jocular manner, in which he treated them during his life-time.

His poem of the greatest length is *Cadenus and Vanessa*. Dr. Swift's works were elegantly published by Dr. Hawksworth, in 6 vols. 4to. and 12 vols. 8vo, in 1754.





*Aveline*  
*Lord Bolingbroke.*

# HENRY SAINT-JOHN.

## THE LIFE OF

### HENRY SAINT-JOHN.

**H**ENRY, SAINT-JOHN, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, was born in 1672 at Battersea in Surrey, the seat of that noble family. During his infancy, his education was chiefly directed by the Dissenters; but, as soon as it became proper to take him out of the hands of the women, he was sent to Eton school, and removed thence to Christ-Church-college in Oxford.

At his first entrance into the House of Commons, he expressed himself warmly against the Dissenters, and sided with the Church party.

His opponents, therefore in the four last years of Queen Anne's reign, raised a clamour (by a remark idle enough in itself, but not therefore of less weight among the populace) from the inconsistency of this conduct with his education; having been, as they alleged, bred up from his infancy in dissenting principles, and well tutored by his grandmother, and her confessor Daniel Burgess, in the Presbyterian way. This latter part of the story is, indeed, probable enough, since both his grandparents were inclined to think well of the  
piety



piety and sanctity of that sect, and both lived many years after he came into publick business.

We have also a hint of it from his own pen, by which we may see at the same time, how little relish he had for it even in those years. He is ridiculing the large commentaries upon St. Matthew and St. John by Chrysostom, "which says he, puts me in mind of  
 " a puritannical parson, Dr. Manton, who, if  
 " I mistake not, for I have not looked into  
 " the folio since I was a boy, and condemned  
 " sometimes to read it, made 119 sermons on  
 " the 119th Psalm." But that he was ever tinctured with dissenting principles in respect of the established Church, cannot fairly be inferred from thence, since though both Sir Walter and his lady were remarkable for sincere piety, yet they were no such bigots to Puritanism as were represented.

Dr. Simon Patrick, afterwards Bishop of Ely, who was long chaplain, and lived many years in the family, always spoke of them with the highest reverence as well as gratitude. The parish records at Battersea will shew, that Sir Walter was a good though a moderate Churchman, by almost every kind of testimony.

He repaired that fabrick more than once; erected, in virtue of a faculty from the Bishop, an entire new gallery, and built and endowed a charity school, all at his own expence. To this

this last, his lady was likewise a contributor, as well as a great Patroness to Dr. Patrick.

As to her father, the chief justice, St. John, whatever were his principles concerning religion, he was no bigot; for he preserved the cathedral church of Peterborough, when nobody else would have preserved it, and when the Parliament were importuned for a grant of it by Cromwell, in consideration of his services.

As to Daniel Burgefs, though a Dissenter, yet he was undeniably a man of wit and good parts; so that though it should be allowed that our statesman was lectured sometimes by him, yet he could receive no soursness to the established church by those lectures.

The truth is, that had the tutor been never so sour a religionist, it would not have been in his power to have instilled any part of it into his pupil, whose nature was far from being susceptible of such leaven, of which the following is a proof more than sufficient.

His lordship remarking the usefulness of that little genius, that literal critics and dictionary makers are blessed with, expresses himself in these terms: "I approve therefore, very much of the devotion of a studious man at Christ-Church [college in Oxford], who was overheard in his oratory entering into a detail with God, as devout persons are apt to do, and, amongst other particular thanksgivings, acknowledging the divine goodness, in  
furnish-

furnishing the world with makers of dictionaries."

His genius and understanding were seen and admired by his contemporaries in both these places; but the love of pleasure had so much the ascendancy, as to hinder him from exerting his talents for literature in any particular performance. His friends designed him for publick business, and when he left the university, he was considered as one who had the fairest opportunity of making a shining figure in that way of an active life.

With the graces of a handsome person, in whose aspect dignity was happily tempered with sweetness, he had a manner and address that was irresistibly engaging; a sparkling vivacity, a quick apprehension, a piercing wit, were united to a prodigious strength of memory, a peculiar subtlety of thinking and reasoning, and masterly elocution; but for some years, all these extraordinary endowments were employed in nothing so much as finishing the character of a complete rake of the first genius; he was particularly much addicted to women, and apt to indulge himself in late hours, with all those excesses that usually attend them.

This character is very consistent with seasons of cool reflections and lucid intervals; nay, these are essential ingredients in such a composition: without these, the character sinks into an ordinary and despicable debauchee. The like difficulties and disasters are run into by

by both, but have not the like effect upon each : the latter in these circumstances, sinks into an inactive and lumpish stupidity ; the former, incapable of standing still, when thus checked in the indulgence of his power, immediately exerts his nobler faculties.

Thus his lordship assures us, that " The love of study and desire of knowledge, were what he felt all his life ; and though his genius, unlike the dæmon of Socrates, whispered so softly, that very often he heard him not, in the hurry of those passions with which he was transported, yet continues he, some calmer hours there were ; in them I hearkened to him." Some of these lucid intervals were employed in versifying. We have the following copy prefixed to Mr. Dryden's Virgil, 1697.

No undisputed monarch govern'd yet,  
 With universal sway the realms of wit.  
 Nature could never such expence afford,  
 Each several province own'd a several lord !  
 A poet then had his poetic wife,  
 One Muse embrac'd, and married for his life.  
 By the stale thing his poetry was cloy'd,  
 His fancy lessen'd, and his fire destroy'd,  
 But Nature grown extravagantly kind,  
 With all her fairest gifts adorn'd his mind ;  
 The different powers were then united found,  
 And you the universal monarch crown'd.  
 Your mighty sway her great deserts secures,  
 And every Muse and every Grace is your's.

'To none confin'd, by turns you all enjoy ;  
 Sated with these you to another fly.  
 So, Sultan like, in your seraglio stand,  
 While wishing misses wait for your command.  
 Thus no decay, no want of figure find ;  
 Such is your fancy, boundless as your mind,  
 Not all the blasts of time can do you wrong,  
 Young spite of age, in spite of weakness strong.  
 Time, like Alcides, strikes you to the ground ;  
 You, like Antæus, from each fall rebound.'

Mr. Pope observes very justly, that his lordship was the patron, the friend and the protector, of that great poet in the decline of his age, though not of his parts ; for the very last poems of Dryden are his best.

I hope what has been said here will not be made use of as an encouragement to rakery ; a sprightly poem, flashing bon mot, or a glittering reply, may be admired, whilst the general conduct of life is condemned ; and it is lesson enough, that lord Bolingbroke lived to tell us so.

In the entrance upon the XVIIth century, he was married to the daughter and co-heiress of Sir Henry Winchescomb, of Bucklebury in Berkshire, Bart. This settlement was in all respects suitable to his birth and expectations, and the same year, 1700, he entered into the House of Commons, being elected for the borough of Wotton-Basset in Wiltshire by a family interest, his father having served several times for the same place : so that Mr. St John, who

who was now about twenty-six years of age, took his seat in the English senate, with advantages scarcely inferior to those of any member that sat there.

He presently chose his party, and joined himself to Robert Harley, Esq; who in this Parliament was chosen for the first time Speaker; and he made himself considerable before the end of this first session.

Persevering steadily in the same connection, he gained such an authority and influence in the house, that it was thought proper to distinguish his merit; and April 10, 1704, he was appointed secretary at war, and of the marines. As this post created a constant correspondence with the duke of Marlborough, he became perfectly acquainted with the worth of that great general, and zealously promoted his interest.

It is remarkable, that the greatest events of the war, such as the battles of Blenheim and Ramelies, and several glorious attempts made by the duke to shorten the war by some decisive action, fell out while Mr. St. John was secretary at war. This gave him occasion more than once to set forth his grace's conduct in a true light. For instance, in carrying through the house the act for settling upon him the honour of Woodstock, with the pension charged upon the Post-Office; and demonstrating, that besides all the great things he did, he would certainly have attempted, and in all probability, performed, still greater, if he had  
not

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not been restrained by the Dutch Deputies : whence there is good grounds to believe, that no body understood the duke's behaviour better, or was inclined to do more justice to his intentions, as well as his actions, than this gentleman.

Yet in that disposition, a spirit of independency appears in setting Mr. Philips to write the poem called *Blenheim*, in emulation to the Campaign of Mr. Addison, who was recommended to that undertaking by lord Halifax. He was, 'tis evident, a sincere admirer of that great general : he distinguished himself as such on the present, and avowed it upon all occasions, even to the last moment of his life.

But when Mr. Harley was removed from the Seals in 1707, Mr. St. John chose to follow his fortune, and the next day resigned his employments in the administration : he also followed his friend's example, and behaved, during the whole session of Parliament, with great temper, steadiness, and decency. He was not returned in the Parliament which was elected in 1708 ; but upon the dissolution of it in 1710, Mr. Harley being made chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer, the important office of secretary of State was given to Mr. St. John ; and about the same time he wrote the famous letter to the Examiner.

Upon the calling of a new parliament on the 25th of November, he was chosen knight of the shire for the county of Berks, and also  
burgess

burghs-for Wotton-Basset, and made his election for the former.

This large accession of power put him into a sphere of action that called forth all his abilities: the English annals produce not a more trying juncture, and Mr. St. John appeared equal to every occasion of trial.

He sustained almost the whole weight of the difficulties in negotiating the peace of Utrecht; and, in July 1712, he was created Baron St. John of Ilediaid Tregoeze in Wiltshire, and Viscount Bolingbroke. He was also the same year appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Essex.

But these honours not answering his expectations, he formed a design of taking the lead in public affairs from his old friend Mr. Harley, then earl of Oxford; which proved in the issue unfortunate to them both.

It must be observed that Paul St. John, the earl of Bolingbroke, died the 5th of October, preceding this creation. That by his decease, though the Barony of Bletsho, devolved upon Sir Andrew St. John, Bart. yet the earldom became extinct, and the honour was promised to our author; but his presence in the House of Commons being so necessary at that time, the lord Treasurer prevailed upon him to remain there during that session, upon a promise that his rank should be preserved to him: but when he expected the old title should have been renewed in his favour, which considering his services, particularly in that session, seemed



reasonable enough, he was put off with this of Viscount; this he resented as an affront and looked on it as so intended by the Treasurer, who had got an earldom for himself.

It is not a little entertaining to see how his lordship expresses it :

“ I continued,” says he, “ in the House of  
“ Commons during that important session  
“ which preceded the peace, and, which by  
“ the spirit shewn through the whole course  
“ of it, and the resolutions taken in it, rendered the conclusion of the treaties palatable. And thus, I was dragged into the  
“ house of lords in such a manner as to make  
“ my promotion a punishment, not a reward,  
“ there left to defend the treaties alone.

“ It would not have been hard, continues  
“ he, to have forced the earl of Oxford to use  
“ me better. His good intentions began to be  
“ very much doubted of; the truth is, no  
“ opinion of his sincerity had ever taken root  
“ in the party; and, which was worse perhaps  
“ for a man in his station, the opinion of his  
“ capacity began to fall apace. He was so  
“ hard pushed in the house of lords in the beginning of 1712, that he had been forced  
“ in the middle of the session, to persuade the  
“ Queen to make a promotion of twelve peers  
“ at once; which was an unprecedented and  
“ invidious measure, to be excused by nothing  
“ but the necessity, and hardly by that. In  
“ the house of commons his credit was low,  
“ and

“ and my reputation very high. You know  
 “ the nature of that assembly; they grow like  
 “ hounds, fond of the man who shews them  
 “ game, and by whose halloo they are used to  
 “ be encouraged. The thread of the negotia-  
 “ tions, which could not stand still a moment,  
 “ without going back, was in my hands : and  
 “ before another man could have made him-  
 “ him’self master of the business, much time  
 “ would have been lost, and great inconveni-  
 “ ences would have followed. Some who op-  
 “ posed the court soon after, began to waver  
 “ then. and if I had not wanted the inclina-  
 “ tion, I should have wanted no help, to do  
 “ mischief. I knew the way of quitting my  
 “ employment, and of retiring from court  
 “ when the service of my party required it;  
 “ but I could not bring myself up to that re-  
 “ solution, when the consequence of it must  
 “ have been the breaking my party, and  
 “ the distress of the public affairs. I thought  
 “ my mistress treated me ill, but the sense of  
 “ that duty which I owed her, came in aid of  
 “ other considerations, and prevailed over my  
 “ resentment. These sentiments, indeed, are  
 “ so much out of fashion, that a man who  
 “ avows them is in danger of passing for a  
 “ bubble in the world. yet they were, in the  
 “ conjuncture I speak of, the true motives of  
 “ my conduct ; and you saw me go on as  
 “ chearfully in the troublesome and dangerous  
 “ work assigned me, as if I had been under  
 “ the utmost satisfaction. I began, indeed,  
 “ in

“in my heart to renounce the friendship which ’till that time I had preserved inviolable for Oxford. I was not aware, of all his treachery, nor of the base and little means which he employed then, and continued to employ afterwards, to ruin me in the opinion of the Queen, and every where else. I say, however, that he had no friendship for any body, and that with respect to me, instead of having the ability to render that merit, which I endeavoured to acquire, an additional strength to himself, it became the object of his jealousy; and a reason for undermining me.”

Presently after the accession of King George the first to the throne, in 1714, the seals were taken from the secretary, and all the papers in his office secured. However, during the short session of parliament at this juncture, he applied himself with his usual industry and vigour, to keep up the spirit of the friends to the late administration, without omitting any proper occasion of testifying his respect and duty to his Majesty; in which spirit he assisted in settling the Civil List, and other necessary points. But, soon after the meeting of the new parliament, he withdrew, and crossed the water privately to France, in the latter end of March, 1715.

Upon his arrival at Paris, he received an invitation from the Pretender, then at Barr, to engage in his service; which he absolutely refused,

refused, and made the best application that his present circumstances would admit, to prevent the extremity of his prosecution in England.

After a short stay at Paris, he retired into Dauphiné, where he continued 'till the beginning of July; when, upon receiving a message from some of his party in England, he complied with a second invitation from the Pretender; and taking the seals of the secretary's office under him at Commercy, he set out with them for Paris; in which city he arrived in the latter end of the same month, in order to procure from that court the necessary succours for his new master's intended invasion of England.

The vote for impeaching him of high-treason had passed in the house of commons on the tenth of June preceding, and six articles were sent up by them to the lords on the sixth of August following: in consequence of which he stood attainted of high-treason, September 10th the same year.

They were brought into the house, and read by Mr. Walpole, August 4, 1715, and were in substance as follows: Art. 1. That whereas he had assured the ministers of the States-General, by order from her Majesty in 1711, that she would make no peace but in concert with them; yet he sent Mr. Prior to France that same year, with proposals of a treaty of peace with that monarch, without the consent of the Allies.

Art. 2. That he advised and promoted the making of a separate treaty, or convention, with France, which was signed in September.

Art. 3. That he disclosed to Mr. Mesnager, the French minister at London, this convention, which was the preliminary instruction to her Majesty Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht in October.

Art. 4. That her Majesty's final instructions to her said Plenipotentiaries were disclosed by him to the Abbot Gualtier, an emissary of France.

Art. 5. That he disclosed to the French the manner how Tournay in Flanders might be gained by them.

Art. 6. That he advised and promoted the yielding up of Spain and the West-Indies to the duke of Anjou, then an enemy to her Majesty.

It must not be concealed, that Sir Joseph Jekyl, a gentleman of the most unbiassed integrity, and great knowledge in the law, and a member of the secret committee, observed, that there was matter more than enough to prove the charge against lord Bolingbroke, at the same time that he declared his opinion, that they had nothing sufficient to support the charge against the earl of Oxford. His lordship, 'tis true, though he allows that they could have hold on no man so much as on himself; the instructions, the orders, the memorials for the peace, having been drawn by him; the correspondence relating to it, in France,

and every where else, carried on by him ; in a word, his hand appeared to almost every paper which had been writ in the whole course of the negotiation. Yet, speaking of the attainder, which, in consequence of this impeachment, had passed against him, for crimes, as he observes, of the blackest dye ; he takes notice, that, among other inducements to pass it, his having been engaged in the Pretender's interest was one. How well founded this article was, has already appeared ; I was just as guilty, says he, of the rest.

It is remarkable, that his new engagements had the same issue, as far as could be effected in the different circumstances of the two courts, and that the year 1715 was scarcely expired, when the seals and papers of his new secretary's office were demanded and given up, which was soon followed by an accusation branched into seven articles, wherein he was impeached of treachery, incapacity and neglect.

Thus discarded abroad, he resolved to make his peace, if possible, at home. He set himself immediately in earnest to his work, and in a short time, by that activity which was characteristic of his nature, and with which he constantly prosecuted all his designs, he procured, through the mediation of the earl of Stair, then the British ambassador at the French court, a promise of pardon, upon certain conditions, from his Majesty King George I. who, on the second of July, 1716, created his father

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baron of Battersea in the county of Surry, and Viscount St. John.

Such an extraordinary variety of distressful events had thrown him into a state of reflection, and this produced, by way of relief, a *Consolatio Philosophica*, which he wrote the same year, under the title of *Reflections upon Exile*. He had also this year wrote several letters in answer to the charge laid upon him by the Pretender and his adherents; and the following year he drew up a vindication of his whole conduct with respect to the tories, in the form of a letter to Sir William Wyndham. He also took a more substantial method of supporting his spirits: his first lady being dead, he espoused about this time a lady of great merit, who was neice to the famous Madam de Maintenon, and widow of the Marquis de Villette; with whom he had a very large fortune, which was, however, encumbered with a long and troublesome lawsuit.

In the company and conversation of this lady, he passed his time in France, sometimes in the country, and sometimes at the capital, 'till 1723, in which year, after the breaking up of the Parliament, his Majesty was pleased to grant him a full and free pardon. Upon the first notice of this favour, the expectation of which had been the governing principle of his political conduct for several years, he returned to his native country.

It is observable, that bishop Atterbury, who was banished at this very juncture, happening, on his being set ashore at Calais, to hear that lord Bolingbroke was there, on his return to England, made this remark: Then I am exchanged. There was undoubtedly appearance enough of such a thing from the circumstances.

Bolingbroke's leave to return was granted, immediately after the act for banishing Atterbury had received the royal assent; and this leave was obtained at the pressing instance of lord Harcourt, who had shewed great warmth in prosecuting the bishop. We are told also, that Sir Robert Walpole, who was observed not to be particularly engaged against the latter, opposed the return of Bolingbroke very warmly in a speech at the council-board, when the motion for it was made by Harcourt.

Perhaps Mr. Pope alludes to this exchange, in a letter to Dean Swift, where he writes thus :

“ The lord Bolingbroke is now returned,  
“ as I hope, to take me, with all his other  
“ hereditary rights. It is sure my ill fate,  
“ that all those whom I most loved, and with  
“ whom I most lived, must be banished. After  
“ both of you left England, my constant host  
“ was the bishop of Rochester. Sure this is  
“ a nation, which is cursedly afraid of being  
“ over run with too much politeness ; and we  
“ cannot



“ cannot regain one great genius, but at the  
 \* “ expence of another.”

And two years afterwards, having obtained  
 . . . . . Act of Parliament to restore him to his  
 family inheritance, and enabling him likewise  
 to possess any purchase he would make of any  
 other real or personal estates in the kingdom ;  
 he pitched upon a seat of lord Tankerville's,  
 at Dawley near Uxbridge, in Middlesex, where  
 he settled with his lady, and indulged the  
 pleasure of gratifying the politeness of his  
 taste, by improving it into a most elegant villa,  
 picturesque of the present state of his fortune,  
 and there amused himself with rural employ-  
 ments.

We have a sketch of his lordship's way of  
 life at this retreat, in a letter to Dr. Swift by  
 Mr. Pope, who omits no opportunity of re-  
 presenting his lordship in the most amiable  
 colours. This letter is dated at Dawley, June 8,  
 1728, and begins thus .

“ I now hold the pen for my lord Boling-  
 broke, who is reading your letter between  
 “ two hay cocks ; but his attention is some-  
 “ what diverted, by casting his eyes on the  
 “ clouds,\* not in admiration of what you say,  
 “ but for fear of a shower. He is pleased  
 “ with your placing him in the triumvirate  
 “ between yourself and me ; though he says,  
 “ that he doubts he shall fare like Lepidus :  
 “ while one of us runs away with all the  
 “ power,

“ power, like Augustus ; and another with all  
 “ the pleasure like Anthony. It is upon a  
 “ a foresight of this, that he has fitted up his  
 “ farm ; and you will agree, that this scheme  
 “ of retreat is not founded upon weak appear-  
 “ ances. Upon his return from Bath, he finds  
 “ all peccant humours are purged out of him ;  
 “ and his great temperance and œconomy are  
 “ so signal, that the first is fit for my constitu-  
 “ tion, and the latter would enable you to lay  
 “ up so much money, as to buy a bishoprick  
 “ in England. As to the return of his health  
 “ and vigour, were you here you might en-  
 “ quire of his haymakers : but as to his tem-  
 “ perance I can answer, that for one whole  
 “ day we had nothing for dinner, but mutton-  
 “ broth. beans and bacon, and a barn door  
 “ fowl. — Now his lordship is run after his  
 “ cart, I have a moment left to myself to tell  
 “ you, that I overheard him yesterday agree  
 “ with a Painter, for 200 pounds, to paint his  
 “ country hall with rakes, spades, prongs, &c.  
 “ and other ornaments, merely to countenance  
 “ his calling this place a farm.”

So far Mr. Pope ; to which I will take leave  
 to add, from ocular testimony, that it was  
 painted accordingly ; and what still makes it  
 more striking, the whole is executed in black  
 crayons only : so that one cannot avoid calling  
 to mind, on viewing it, the figures so often  
 seen scratched with charcoal upon the kitchen  
 walls of farm-houses. And to heighten the

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same taste, we read over the door, at the entrance into it, this motto : *Satis beatus ruris honoribus*. In the same humour, likewise, his lordship writes to Dr. Swift.

“ I am in my farm, and here I shoot strong  
 “ and tenacious roots; I have caught hold of  
 “ the earth, to use a Gardener’s phrase, and  
 “ neither my enemies nor my friends will find  
 “ it an easy matter to transplant me.”

Thus the tree was replanted, took root, and flourished. But still it bore not the fruit that was most desired, and for want of which the owner looked upon it as little better than a barren trunk; he was in effect, yet no more than a meer titular lord, and still stood excluded from a seat in the house of Peers.

Inflamed with this taint that yet remained in his blood, he entered again, in 1726, upon the public stage; and disavowing all obligations to the minister, he embarked in the opposition; and taking that share in it for which he was best suited by his circumstances, he soon distinguished himself by a multitude of pieces, wrote during the short remainder of that reign, and likewise for several years under the late, with great freedom and boldness, against the measures that were then pursued.

In the height of these political disputes, he found some spare hours for the meditations of Philosophy, and drew up several essays upon

the subject of metaphysics. Having carried on his part of the siege against the minister, with inimitable spirit for ten years; he laid down his pen, upon a disagreement with his principal coadjutors: and, in 1735, he retired to France, in a full resolution never more to engage in public business.

It has been observed, that, in the prosecution of this controversy, our statesman found himself obliged, from the beginning, to recommend the earl of Oxford's old scheme under the coalition of parties (then called the Broad-bottom Scheme) the Tories being at this time out of any condition to aim at places and power, except as auxiliaries: and it may be added, that he joined with a person who had shewn the same conduct with regard to Sir Robert Walpole, as he had done to the earl of Oxford. However, his lordship was resolved to push it as far as possible; and when some suspicions began to arise in him of the fidelity of his new friends, Mr. Pope says he gave him a hint of it in the first lines of his *Essay on Man*.

Awake, my St. John, leave all meaner things  
To low ambition, and the pride of kings.

But this had not the desired effect. In answer to that friend's suggestions he writes thus:

“ The strange situation I am in, and the melancholy situation of public affairs, take up much of my time, divide or even dissipate my thoughts; or, which is worse, drag the mind down, by perpetual interruptions, from a philosophical tone or temper to the drudgery of private and public business. The last lies nearest my heart. And, since I am once more engaged in the service of my country, disarmed, gagged, and almost bound as I am, I will not abandon it as long as the integrity and perseverance of those who are under none of these disadvantages, and with whom I now co-operate, make it reasonable for me to act the same part.”

Accordingly he read such lectures as still kept people together; and, to his credit, it cannot be denied, as a political writer, that he managed the whole affair with the utmost dexterity; and very happily threw out a system of policy, so curiously contrived, that a man might enter into and pursue the public business of the nation (if with any propriety a controversy carried on for the sake of power by a set of men in any place whatever may be so called) without deserting, in his own opinion at least, his private notion of government. But when he saw the threads which he had wove together begin actually to untwist, and was satisfied his new friends would shew their party-principles

ples as soon as the line of opposition was cut, then he declared, that no shadow of duty obliged him to go further.

Plato, he observes, ceased to act for the commonwealth when he ceased to persuade : and Solon laid down his arms before the public magazines, when Mistratus grew too strong to be opposed any longer with hopes of success.

His lordship followed these examples, but not without collecting his utmost force to give a parting-blow to the minister; which, in reality, of all his masterly pieces is generally esteemed the best.

He had now seen through the sixtieth year of his age, and had passed through as great a variety of scenes, both of pleasure and business, in active life, as any of his contemporaries. He had gone as far towards reinstating himself in the full possession of his former honours as the meer dint of parts and application could go ; and was at length experimentally convinced, that the decree was absolutely irreversible, and the door was finally shut against him.

If, in the decline of his life, he became less conspicuous, he became more amiable, and he was far from suffering the hours to slide away unusefully.

He had not been long at his retreat near Fontainebleau, when he began a course of Letters on the Study and Use of History, for the use of a young nobleman of distinguished worth and capacity.

In the mean time it was evident, that a person of so active an ambition as he was tempered with, must lie greatly open to ridicule, in assuming a resigned philosophical air of study and contemplation. He saw it, and, to obviate the censure, he addressed a letter to lord Bathurst, upon the True Use of Retirement and Study; where we see he had no intention, by shutting the scene, to drop the opposition to the minister, but only to change a little the method of attack. We will, however, shew the reader what he himself says in his defence to avoid this suspected ridicule.

“ To set about acquiring the habits of meditation and study, late in life, is like getting into a go cart with a grey beard, and learning to walk when we have lost the use of our legs. In general, the foundation of a happy old age must be laid in youth; and, in particular, he who has not cultivated his reason young, will be utterly unable to improve it old. *Manent ingenia senibus, modo permanent studium & industria.*

“ Not only a love of study, and a desire of knowledge, must have grown up with us, but, such an industrious application likewise, as requires the whole vigour of the mind to be exerted in the pursuit of truth, through long trains of ideas, and all those dark recesses, wherein man, not God, has hid it.

This love, and this desire, I have felt all my life; and I am not quite a stranger to this industry

industry and application. There has been something always ready to whisper in my ear, whilst I ran the course of pleasure and business, *Solve senescentem mature sanus equum*. But my genius, unlike the dæmon of Socrates, whispered so softly, that very often I heard him not in the hurry of those passions by which I was transported; some calmer hours there were, in them I hearkened to him; reflection had often its turn; and the love of study, and the desire of knowledge, have never quite abandoned me. I am not therefore entirely unprepared for the life I will lead; and it is not without reason that I promise myself more satisfaction in the latter part of it, than I ever knew in the former."

The plan of his designed attack he carried on in several pieces, executed with a spirit no ways unequal to that of his former productions.

Upon the death of his father, in 1724, he settled at Battersea, the ancient seat of his family; where he passed the remainder of his life in such a dignity, as was the natural result of the elevation of his genius, perfected by long experience, many disappointments, and much reflection; resolving, since he could not obtain his seat again in the house of peers, never more to meddle in public affairs.

After the conclusion of the late inauspicious war, in 1747, the measures taken in the administration



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ministration seem not to have been repugnant to his notions of political prudence for, that juncture ; and what these were, is seen, in part, in some reflections written by him in 1749, On the Present State of the Nation, principally with Regard to her Taxes and Debts, and on the Causes and Consequences of them.

This undertaking was left unfinished, nor did he survive it long. He had often wished to fetch his last breath at Battersea ; a circumstance which happened to him on the fifteenth of November, 1751, on the verge of fourscore years of age.

His corpse was interred with those of his ancestors, in that church ; where there is a marble menument erected to his memory, with this inscription :

Here lies  
Henry St John ;  
In the reign of Queen Anne  
Secretary of War, Secretary of State,  
And Viscount Bolingbroke.  
In the the days of King George I.  
And King George II.  
Something more and better.  
His attachment to Queen Anne  
Exposed him to a long and severe persecution:  
He bore it with firmness of mind.  
The enemy of no national party,  
The friend of no faction.  
Distinguished

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Distinguished under the cloud of a proscription,  
Which had not been entirely taken off,  
By zeal to maintain the libetty  
And to restore the ancient prosperity  
Of Great Britain.

• He survived all his brothers ; so that the estate and honour descended to his nephew, the present lord viscount Bolingbroke and St. John, whom he constituted likewise his testamentary-heir : and, as his lady died many years before him, so the disputes in law about her fortune happening to be finally determined about the time of his decease, by that lucky event, the nephew reaped the whole benefit of his uncle's kindness immediately.

His lordship left the care and advantage of his manuscripts to Mr. Mallet, who published three tracts, in one volume 8vo, in 1753, and four volumes more the following year ; in which the trustee, it seems, consulted his own profit more than his noble benefactor's fame ; as appears from a presentment of the grand-jury of Westminster, made on the sixteenth of October the same year, 1754, of these posthumous works in four volumes, " as tending, in the general scope of several pieces therein contained, as well as many particular expressions which had been laid before them, to the subversion of religion, government, and morality ; and being also against his majesty's peace."

Indeed

Indeed it is almost needless to tell the world now, that, in respect to his religion, he was undoubtedly what is sometimes understood by the denomination of an atheist. But, however this part of his conduct may be censured, yet, with all his passions, and with all his faults, he will perhaps, as the writer of his life observes, be acknowledged, by posterity in general, as I think he is by the majority of the present age, to have been, in many respects, one of the most extraordinary persons who adorned it.

In his exterior, he was wonderfully agreeable. He had a dignity mixed with sweetness in his looks, and a manner that would have captivated the heart, if his person had been ever so indifferent. He was remarkable for his vivacity, and had a prodigious memory. He was a statesman, an orator, a leader of party; was brought into business early, pursued it through the most vigorous part of his life; enjoyed the smiles, endured the frowns, of fortune; and was, besides, a man of learning, reflection, and wit.

With all these qualities, and I think his enemies will allow that he had them all, he could scarce write any thing that did not deserve to be read and to be studied. When this is said, however, we must confine ourselves to the subjects to which these characters belong; for he sometimes, as we see, made excursions into others, of which he neither was, nor  
could

could be expected to be, a perfect master : and upon them he wrote like other men. In reality, there is not much danger of being misled by him in these matters: the same wisdom that directs us not to take our politics from priests, exclaims against receiving our religion from a politician ; it is in that character that he excels.

We generally, and indeed justly, prefer such writers as have an opportunity of being practically, as well as speculatively, acquainted with the subjects on which they write. Demosthenes and Cicero were statesmen as well as orators. Cæsar was conspicuous for his learning, as well as his abilities, in the camp and in the cabinet : his Commentaries are a proof of it ; and the critic spoke truly who said, that he wrote with the same spirit with which he fought. Machiavel was alike versed in business and in books ; and that is the true reason why his merit is confessed even by those who abhor his maxims. In our own country, the writings of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the noble historian, are justly esteemed at a higher rate than those of men who had not the like opportunities of penetrating to the very bottom of the springs and causes of those transactions, which they undertook to examine, and to criticize as well as to record.

From the very same motives, the works of this ingenious writer have merited, and, in all probability, will continue to merit, attention  
and

and applause. He lived to see the opening of that glorious prospect which he speaks of, at the winding up of his Idea of a Patriot King, in these rapturous terms :

“ Those who live to see such happy days, and to act in so glorious a scene, will, perhaps, call to mind, with some tenderness of sentiment, when he is no more, a man who contributed his mite to carry on so good a work, and who desired life for nothing so much, as to see a King of Great-Britain the most popular man in his country, and a Patriot King at the head of a united people.”

What he meant perhaps as a compliment is become a kind of prophecy, fulfilled in the simplest manner. It may serve as a monumental inscription. If it had been more extended, it would have been a sort of funeral oration of himself upon himself. It seems he delighted to the last in regarding distant prospects ; and shut out the idea of dissolution by contemplating the effects of his political doctrines in ages beyond his own. And it cannot be denied, that, while either faction or freedom remains among us, his writings on that subject will pave their merit and use. This they always had : but my meaning is, that they will have it now in an advanced and extraordinary degree : death, in removing him out of the reach of envy, and the rage of jealousy,

lously, has extended the utility, and fixed the immortality, of his writings. Their reputation will now rest upon their merit, without suffering any diminution from the failings of their author: failings he had, and who has them not? Were the ministers he opposed without failings? But these did not infect his writings. Those were products of his cooler hours, and shew us the noble efforts of a great genius, when conducted and supported by experience. They open to us all the secret springs and hidden mechanism, not of our constitution, for that is nobly plain and gracefully simple; but of the executive powers, and the administration of government; how these may be disordered, spoiled, and broken; how they may be discerned from the motions of the Machine; and how these errors may be repaired or prevented. While he lived, his testimony was ever impeached, by a suggestion that his aim was to have the direction of the Pendulum; but that can be said no more. All his skill, all his acuteness, all his sagacity, are now useless to the Artist: but we are consoled for this, by the consideration, that they may be so much the more useful to us and to our country.

Such is the elogium given of him by the writer of the *Memoirs of his Life*; who, having cast them into the form of Letters to a Young Gentleman, closes the whole in the following words:

“ My

" My pen has been employed in shewing you, this is no panegyric, but a just tribute to merit; and the rest of the world will gradually learn this from the writings themselves, which will be now read with less prejudice and more respect. His writings are the Monuments which he consecrated to posterity; and, though He is now no more, These will last For Ever."

His lordship was esteemed, almost to a degree of adoration, by the first poet of his age; who has blazoned his character with the brightest colours that wit could invent, or fondness bestow, by immortalizing both his own fame, and that of his noble friend, at whose persuasion, and by whose assistance, this incomparable didactic poem, his *Essay on Man*, was begun and executed.

Come on, my friend, my genius come along;  
Oh, master of the Poet and the Song!  
And, while the Muse now stoops, or now  
ascends,  
To man's low passions, and their glorious  
ends,  
Teach me, like thee, in various nature wise,  
To fall with dignity, with temper rise:  
Form'd by thy converse happily to steer,  
From gay to grave, from lively to severe;  
Correct with spirit, elegant with ease,  
Intent to reason, or polite to please.

Oh !

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Oh! while along the stream of time, thy name  
Expanded flies, and gathers all it's fame;  
Say, shall my little bark attend the sail,  
Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale?  
When statesmen, heroes, kings, in dust re-  
pose,  
Whole sons will blush their fathers were thy  
foes,  
Shall this thy verse to future age pretend,  
Thou wer't my guide, philosopher, and friend?  
That, urg'd by thee, I turn'd the tuneful  
art,  
From sound, to things; from fancy, to the  
heart:  
For wit's false mirror hold up nature's light,  
Shew erring man, Whatever is, is right:  
That reason, passions, answer one great aim;  
That true self-love and social are the same:  
That Virtue only makes our Bliss below;  
And all our Knowledge is--Ourselves to Know?

END OF THE ELEVENTH VOLUME.





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